JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

The New
REPUBLIC

July 21, 1941

Russia's Chances

Edgar Snow: The Soviets' Guerrilla Tactics

Geroid Robinson: Napoleon, Wilhelm, Hitler

A New Learned Society . . . . *Samuel Grafton*

Should America Declare War? . . . . *Editorial*

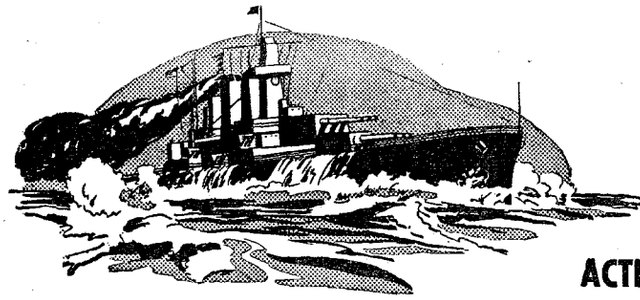
Poetry Criticism Today . . . . *Randall Jarrell*

Democracy Can Act . . . . . *Editorial*

FIFTEEN CENTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LOUDER than Words



ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS:

★ **On April 9, the battleship *NORTH CAROLINA* was commissioned —*five months* ahead of schedule.**

★ **On May 15, the battleship *WASHINGTON* was commissioned —*six and one-half months* ahead of schedule.**

★ **On June 7, the battleship *SOUTH DAKOTA* was launched— *four months* ahead of schedule.**

★ **The propulsion equipment for the battleship *MASSACHUSETTS* was completed this spring in the plants of the General Electric Company—*ten weeks* ahead of schedule.**

Building a battleship is an all-American job. It draws on the resources of every branch of the nation's industry, and hundreds of industrial companies have done their part in speeding this shipbuilding program.

Our part is the construction of propulsion equipment—chiefly of turbines and reduction gears. And so far, for each of these ships, the equipment has been completed, ready for installation, ahead of scheduled time. General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y.

This is the second of a series of reports on the progress of defense work in America's largest electrical workshop.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

952-22261-211

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 105, NO. 3 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 21, 1941 NUMBER 1390

Anti-Wishful Thinking

Before the war and during its early course Britishers and Americans were trapped by so much wishful thinking that they now seem to have overcompensated by a stern anti-wishful thinking about the Soviet-German war. They first concluded that Stalin would never resist Hitler, and then, when he did, they began to assume that the Soviet Union would either be wiped off the map in two or three weeks or would promptly make terms with the enemy, like the Vichy government. But the outcome so far shows it is no more realistic to expect, because we want a given outcome, that it will not happen than that it will. Russia may be defeated; it is rash to build too much on her capacity for successful resistance. But at least let us admit the possibility that when the rains, the snows and darkness swallow the land, the Nazis may still be deeply engaged with the Bear. This would be possible even if they vaulted over the Stalin line, exterminated several more Soviet armies, and took Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev.

Peace to Begin War

Whatever the military situation beneath the smoke and dust that hangs over the 1,200-mile Russian battle line may be at this moment, the direction of one other Hitler drive is clear. Hitler has the body of Europe in his hands. He needs time to devour and digest it. To get it, he must stop Britain by stopping the supplies which the United States is sending to her. Far more effective than trying to sink those ships in the North Atlantic would be tying them up in American ports. Hitler wants a truce, and to get it he will promise anything under Heaven that he thinks would paralyze the mind and will of Americans. Mayor LaGuardia says that he knows that "Hitler peace proposals" are already in the hands of "representatives of a peace movement here." Watch for them. They would be, in point of fact, Hitler's declaration of war against the United States.

Churchill Looks Ahead

Mr. Churchill's address to London civil defense workers was obviously prepared with care and should be read with attention. Its statement of Britain's growing aerial power was most encouraging and is best summed up by the lines, "In the last few weeks alone we have thrown upon Germany about half the tonnage of bombs thrown by the Germans upon our cities during the whole course of the war." This is an immense effort, and yet it is only a preliminary picture of what British and American combined production can do in the months ahead. And it is only the bright side of the situation. The Prime Minister followed it up with remarks that should be taken with the utmost seriousness. He rejected the idea that the slackening of German raids on Britain was due to the preoccupation of the Luftwaffe with Russia. "They have a bombing force in the West quite capable of making very heavy attacks." And he urged the defense workers "to be prepared for severest counter-action by the enemy" and urged courage "if we should have to go through the same ordeal as last year, only rather worse." His speech, in fact, was not, as the newspapers here suggest, a tough warning to the Nazis. It was a warning to his own people, and simultaneously to America, not to put their trust in any efforts but their own; not to believe

CONTENTS

The Week 67
Editorials
Democracy Can Act 71
Should We Declare War? 72
Do We Need the WPA? 73
General Articles
Making America Over 74
Exile Boat (verse) . . . Virginia Hamilton 76
Three Invaders of Russia . . . . . .
Guerrilla Tactics in Soviet Defense . Edgar Snow 79
Fighter Pilot . . . . . Flight-Lieutenant 81
A New Learned Society . . Samuel Grafton 83
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 84
Just for Laughs . . . . . Otis Ferguson 85
The Bandwagon 86
Correspondence 86
Contemporary Poetry Criticism . Randall Jarrell 88
Books in Review
Reason and Revolution . . . Sidney Hook 90
Local Color . . . . . Edgar Johnson 91
Pacific Relations . . . C. Hartley Grattan 92
Incredible Voyage . . . . . Otis Ferguson 93
Democracy's Job . . . . . Louis Fischer 94

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1941, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49TH ST., NEW YORK, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the participation of a new ally could be depended upon to save England and her cities. Here in America we must see this as the Prime Minister's principal message.

Britain's Two Treaties

The past week has brought the British two favorable military agreements. The first is the Anglo-Russian war pact, under which Britain and Russia promise one another full military aid and no peace with Hitler except by mutual consent. Practically speaking these two clauses have only a formal value; they put above signatures what has hitherto been taken for granted. The value of the second clause, particularly, is wholly dependent on the destructive power of the Nazi army—we can expect the clause to be adhered to only so long as Russian resistance can continue.

The Syrian armistice has greater practical value. It destroys the one Nazi foothold on the mainland of the Near East, bolsters the strategic island of Cyprus and ranges the British along the whole length of Turkey's southern border—a development that may be of great importance in giving heart to the Turks. Equally important, it gives British forces, small though they are, an unbroken advanced line from the eastern Mediterranean to Iran. And from Iran to China all territory is in relatively safe hands, so long as German preoccupation with Russia prevents the Nazis from stirring up trouble among, and perhaps penetrating, the nations of the Middle East. A favorable development of this situation may bring in the future a steady growth of British power in the Middle East (for which General Wavell is now presumably laying the groundwork), with the possibility ultimately of using this area as the path to Germany's back door. But a Russian collapse in the coming weeks would see an end to any such grandiose plans; Turkey and Iran would bow to the new order and Suez again would feel the threat of the Near East-North African pincers. As the weeks pass, the significance of Russia's struggle becomes almost boundless in its implications.

No More of It

Many Americans have been troubled in recent months about the question of British competition with us in foreign trade. Reports have been circulated that materials supplied by us under the lease-lend law were actually being used to bolster British trade in other parts of the world, especially Latin America. In other cases it was said our materials released an equivalent amount of British goods for the same purpose. Just how much truth there was in these reports is still a mystery; we can be sure that Nazi propagandists in this country blew them up larger than life-size. At any rate, this troublesome situation is now definitely ended. We have the assurance of John Maynard Keynes that Britain proposes to sacrifice her entire foreign trade during the war except in so far as it is necessary to pay for needed war imports. So ends an important possible source of friction. That it is removed is good news.

The Army and Politics

The President's decision about the army's request that drafted men be kept more than a year and that troops be permitted to leave the Western Hemisphere was a political compromise. Like all such compromises, it leaves no one particularly happy. The President will support the proposal that drafted men be kept more than a year, as he obviously had to do. A year is not long enough to train a man properly for modern warfare; and even if it were, this is no moment to scrap a great part of our new army and start over. Blame Congress, whose members knew a year ago that they were setting the time too short and both the age limits too high, especially the top one, but did not have courage enough to face the country with the truth.

On the matter of fighting outside the hemisphere, we hope and assume that the President has merely decided to make two bites of the cherry, and that he will soon ask separate legislation on this matter. Suppose it were necessary to send an army from Manila or Hawaii to Singapore or Batavia, in order to prevent Japan from acquiring the resources with which to attack our west coast, or in order to liberate British forces for action against Hitler in Africa, so that we could be freed from apprehension of an attack on South America via Dakar? This is a world war, and we cannot arbitrarily limit the ground while our enemy is free to operate anywhere in the world. Nor can we stop to change the rules while he is charging down the field with the ball.

On the whole, if we must choose to delimit our defensive operations by hemispheres, wouldn't it be just as logical to pick the Northern as the Western?

Will Hitler Defeat LaGuardia?

The decision of the regular Democratic organizations in New York City to run a ticket against Mayor LaGuardia in the 1941 election represents an intention to capitalize disloyalty to the United States for the private profit of the machine. This sounds like a drastic statement, but the facts allow no other interpretation. Mr. LaGuardia is not only the best mayor the city ever had, but one of the most popular. In a period of unprecedented financial stringency he has managed, not only to keep the city's finances in order but to do an immense amount of constructive work. The only substantial opposition to the mayor among the people—now that the Communist-influenced laborites have had to support the war—arises from the German and Italian voters who last fall greatly reduced President Roosevelt's plurality in the city.

Boss Edward J. Flynn of the Bronx is not above dealing with pro-Nazis. Doubtless he hardly expects

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to defeat the mayor, but he does hope to capture subordinate offices like the President of the City Council and the controllership. Indeed, it is rumored that organization support was offered Mr. LaGuardia if he would sacrifice the efficient Fusion incumbents of these posts, Messrs. Newbold Morris and Joseph McGoldrick. The Mayor knows that to do so would give Tammany a majority on the Board of Estimate and so wreck his administration. But Mr. Flynn and the other county leaders are going after the loot anyway, and will use the disloyal voters to do so.

The End of a Bad Bill

It is good news that the House of Representatives on July 10 voted down proposals for further coercion of labor in defense industries. It has now been proved over and over again that you can't get maximum production from dissatisfied workers nursing grievances. Credit for defeating the measure goes mainly to the AFL and the CIO, which campaigned effectively against it. The attitude of the administration was not quite clear; supposedly the request for legislation had come first from the War Department, but President Roosevelt had indicated disapproval, and administration floor leaders opposed the scheme. Aside from organized labor, the bill was defeated by a coalition between House liberals and a group of seventy-seven Republicans most of whom objected chiefly to the fact that the bill would permit the President to take over plants. Except for the Louisiana delegation, the Southern Democrats supported the measure. Liberals and labor will need to continue their watchfulness; the Vinson bill, which is coming up soon, contains some bad provisions similar to those just voted down.

Where Harry Bridges Stands

For years, people have been debating whether or not Harry Bridges, San Francisco longshoreman leader, is or is not a Communist. His speech before the Cleveland convention of the National Maritime Union on July 10 certainly showed him departing sharply from what the Russian government considers its best interests at the present moment. Bridges attacked President Roosevelt and Sidney Hillman, though the official line in Moscow is one highly favorable to the present activities of these two gentlemen. His remarks about England were rather ambiguous, but seemed to mean that he would withhold aid from Britain until the present government has been overthrown and succeeded by one representative only of the masses of the British people. He ought to know very well that America is confronted by no such choice: we must either support the present British government or be prepared to see it supplanted by a Nazi Quisling group after a successful invasion. Other left-wing officials in the CIO are taking a line similar to that of the Pacific Coast leader. It seems to us to make no sense in Russia's terms or in our own.

Ford and Hitler

"Henry Ford Must Choose," just published by the Friends of Democracy, makes incredible reading. Here in photostat is the whole ugly story of Ford's anti-Semitic campaigns and Ford's connections with Hitler. There are sample covers from the millions of copies of anti-Semitic books and pamphlets distributed all over the world bearing the name of the great American author, Enrico Ford, or Heinrich Ford, as Hitler affectionately called him. Here we get a startling picture of the 1922 Hitler sitting in his luxurious quarters in front of Ford's picture, riding in powerful automobiles, paying his lieutenants good salaries, buying 1,000 new uniforms and guns at a clip for his Storm Troopers. And then we see another story: the vice-president of the Bavarian Diet accuses Ford of financing this thug. Hitler again and again expresses his admiration for the great American anti-Semite. His followers openly boast that the American flivver king is behind them.

Is that now ancient history? Ford repudiated W. J. Cameron, editor of Ford's Dearborn Independent. But Cameron is still Ford's employee and mouthpiece. And Cameron is still president of the Anglo-Saxon Federation, the anti-Semitic organization which prints Destiny. The Friends of Democracy say clearly that Ford has not publicly repudiated the various fascists who use his name. Henry Ford, they say, must choose.

July 14 in Georgia

Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia is, in common with many other ignorant men, a racialist. Several weeks ago he let school boards know that home-grown teachers were good enough for Georgia. *Auslanders* might fail to teach the all-important doctrine of white superiority. There was even the chance of letting in a social leper with ideas about racial equality. In keeping with this doctrine, Talmadge tried to get the Board of Regents to dismiss Dr. Walter D. Cocking, dean of the University of Georgia School of Education, and Dr. Marvin S. Pittman, president of the Georgia Teachers' College. The Regents overruled the Governor by a vote of 8 to 7. Talmadge then replaced three regents with hand-picked stooges, and on July 14 the two educators were dismissed by a vote of 10 to 5.

We know what ugly scars this will leave in Georgia and how the whole South will suffer because of it. We realize how much this undoes the work of those who have been unblackening the South's educational reputation. We know what a blow it is to the men and institutions who had begun to prove to the rest of the world that not all Southern universities were on a par with backward high schools elsewhere. Still we ask the thinking people of the South not to be discouraged. Such *causes célèbres* have a way of letting in light. It seems worth remembering that eight men on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Board of Regents upheld educational freedom, and that no persuasion or pressure could change their minds. It is because of such men that the South, despite occasional setbacks, is making real progress.

Wheeler, Hanighen and "the Jews"

Senator Wheeler has recently been under sharp criticism for speeches which to many persons seemed to contain thinly veiled anti-Semitism. His friend Frank Hanighen, who evidently agrees with Senator Wheeler's isolationism, comes to his rescue in a recent issue of Common Sense. "It is a fact," says Hanighen, "that Wheeler is angry with the Jews. But that doesn't mean he's anti-Semitic. He's angry just as a lawyer is angry with clients who are spoiling the case which he knows he will one day have to plead. . . . Obviously the anti-Semites will claim that the Jews got us into the war. . . . Wheeler knows this is false. But he knows that it will be difficult to disprove in view of the way many Jews are acting today. The Jews," he adds, "are presenting to the public gaze an almost unbroken front on the subject of war. . . . I think it is downright un-Jewish of the Jews . . . to line up so stolidly on one side. . . . I think many Jews have forgotten that Jews in this country have fared pretty well in many respects compared with other religious and racial groups." Frank Hanighen, with his long record as a vigorous liberal, ought to know that there is no such political group as "the Jews." Jews are found on every side of every question, just as non-Jews are. Whoever starts talking or writing about "the Jews," has himself, consciously or unconsciously, caught the deadly virus of anti-Semitism.

So Far, Good

No federal prosecutions for opinion were undertaken in the year ending May 31, 1941, the American Civil Liberties Union points out in its annual report. Only four states brought prosecutions for opinion: Oklahoma, Illinois (where the case was settled before trial), New Jersey (against Bundsmen for anti-Semitic speeches) and Indiana (against Jehovah's Witnesses for sedition). The Union finds the year's record "remarkably good," praising especially federal agencies at Washington and the Department of Justice, which not only kept their heads under pressure to restrict civil liberties but made efforts to protect those liberties. It condemns, particularly, state laws to keep Communist candidates off the ballot, repressive actions against teachers and persecutions of Jehovah's Witnesses. For a yardstick for civil liberties it quotes the magnificent statement by the Supreme Court in the Milligan case, after the Civil War: "The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances."

The ACLU remarks dryly that "the tendencies of the FBI to invade the field of opinion require constant watching and check." What seems most remarkable always, in the Union's annual report, is the enormous amount of watching and checking—which means detailed legal work—that has been done by the staff and the smallness of its expenditures. It spent $27,690.64 last year. The New York State Legislature gave its Rapp-Coudert Committee $247,000 to investigate "subversion." Governor Lehman cut that to $175,000. Even so, $10 spent by the Civil Liberties Union seems to accomplish more for the safety of the United States than $1,000 spent by a legislative committee. The address is 170 Fifth Avenue.

Last Week

A fortune teller made the public prints with advice to defense workers, telling them to be extra careful between the hours of two-thirty and three-thirty in the afternoon. It was suggested that he was a Nazi saboteur, trying to slow defense production, but it seemed sound advice. That hour of early afternoon, when the lunch is digested and the sun grows hot, is the time when the mind veers off and runs into damaging obstacles, such as the creed of the Rockefellers. John D. Rockefeller Jr. inherited from his family the knowledge that character is more important than wealth and that love is the greatest thing in the world. But defense workers with character and love only seem not to be invited to speak over nationwide hook-ups or to have their creeds headlined on page one of The New York Times. When the son of the richest man in the world says that love is the greatest thing in the world, that is news. But what the news means can indeed be a dangerous thing to get thinking about at two-thirty. . . . Montclair, New Jersey, is working on the problem of dangerous thoughts. The Montclair Times revealed that the local Security Council has formed an intelligence division, dividing the city into fifteen sections, with a key man in charge of each, and that remarkable results have been obtained in uncovering subversive activities and sentiments. All is secret, including the identity of the key men and the nature of the subversive thoughts. Montclair is a commuter's paradise, proud of the number of its millionaires in proportion to the population and of the annual parties in the barn of Nicholas Roberts (the last president of S. W. Straus and Company—"no loss to investors in 49 years"—the office of which is now a badminton court on Fifth Avenue). Yale men gather at the barn parties and sing For God, for Country and for Yale. Guessing, since the newspapers gave no facts, a defense worker might wonder if the subversive movement which Montclair is battling could be an effort by some group of miscreants to rearrange the word order of the world's finest anti-climax. Were it done, Montclair would certainly crash. . . . The harder Congress tried

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to write a tax bill the worse the bill got, and besides, it was hot in Washington. The final news was that Congress threw up the sponge and decided just to pass an excise tax.... But none the less, the defense workers did turn out 1,476 new planes in the past month.

Democracy Can Act

DEMOCRACY, it is often said, is less efficient than dictatorship because it cannot act promptly and decisively in a crisis. At other times it may be more pleasant or even more durable, but when peril threatens, it is a luxury which is unfit to survive. Observations like this are now on the lips of many who see what is going on at the Capitol in Washington.

Any historian or strategist would say that the present moment offers a critical opportunity which may not be repeated. Hitler is still busy with Russia; if he conquers her, he will return with renewed vigor to the West. Japan may be poised for a new offensive. What this nation needs at this moment is ability to strike—to strike shrewdly, unexpectedly and with all its vigor. The time is not one for debate and hesitation. Those with full knowledge and executive authority might conceivably decide that in spite of appearances it is better now to withhold our hand, but one does not like to see them compelled to withhold it, whether their judgment approves or not.

Yet that is the situation which the President's opponents in Congress and their isolationist supporters throughout the country seem to force upon him. The Chief of Staff of the army, with administration approval, asks that the law be so changed that the draftees may be kept in service for more than a year, and may be used outside the Western Hemisphere. Congress tries to force a compromise. The administration asks for power to control prices to forestall inflation; Congress balks. It asks for higher taxes on incomes; Congress tries to write a bill and foozles it. On a dozen minor matters the question asked by those who are entrusted with guarding our safety is not, should this be done in the national interest, but, can we get them to sanction it up on the Hill?

It is not merely a group of politicians in Congress who cause the President to hesitate. The isolationists keep up a steady drum-fire on both legislative and executive departments. They are heard daily over the radio, bolstering the reluctance of most people to get into a war. The President, after many bold speeches, finally acts by occupying Iceland while Hitler's back is turned. The President's opponents interpret this, not as a strategic measure to help the defeat of a world conqueror whom we have to fear, but as a cheap trick to get us into war, against the people's will. If we were "at war," the President could do many things which he now hesitates to do because he is not sure how far the people will follow him. But his enemies challenge him to ask Congress for a declaration of war, knowing that such a request might be defeated. In the meantime, we talk while the Nazis fight. We wait, as all the other democracies (and the Soviet Union) waited, for Hitler to attack us at the time which suits him best.

All this is, indeed, disturbing to the advocates of the democratic process. But why need we assume that the bumblings of congressmen and the loud protestations of an isolationist minority are the essence of the democratic process, in a period of crisis? During the past nine years, as well as for many periods before that, Congress has been much further from the will of the people than has the President. It does not, for the most part, represent the people as a whole, but special and sectional interests. Again and again it has been demonstrated that a forthright and courageous President can compel Congress, whining and snapping, to come along at the end of the leash, because he, and not Congress, embodies the popular will.

It simply is not true, as the isolationists seem to assume, that the first concern of a majority of the American people is to avoid getting into the war, no matter what the cost. It is true that when approached by a poll-taker and asked whether he favors a declaration of war, the typical voter will say no. And why should he not? Nobody likes war or wishes to take the responsibility of willing it. We have not been told by the President or any other responsible leader that war is necessary. Many still cling to the hope that we can stay out, because others will defeat Hitler for us. But a large and increasing number believe we shall get in some time, and a majority think that we must if Britain is defeated. Indeed, most of the voters would seem to favor war if a victorious Hitler is the alternative.

The resources of democracy have not been exhausted when a President, confronting a public in this state of mind, allows congressional opponents and public isolationists to govern his action because he is afraid of getting too far ahead of the people. There are times when the executive may safely wait for the people to lead him, but this is not one of them. The people know, for the most part, what this war is about, and are waiting for the President to lead them. Our impression is that a loud cheer would have gone up all over the land if Secretary Knox had been able to tell a timorous and censorious congressional committee that a depth bomb from an American destroyer *had* sunk a German submarine.

We do not need more speeches. Indeed, there have been almost too many brave and defiant words from the President already to match against the deeds for which he is responsible. The nation needs to be invigorated by active leadership, and would respond to it with unimagined enthusiasm. At present it is disheartened by the confusion of counsel, the uncertainties and hesitations, the tiny mice that emerge from so many

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mountains of good intention. It is an essential characteristic of democracy, proved again and again in our history, to follow a leader who, in a crisis, takes the responsibility of acting.

Should We Declare War?

THE NEW YORK POST a few days ago, in a striking front-page editorial, demanded an immediate declaration of war. It argued that we are already in the conflict, fighting in self-defense; that Hitler is attacking us in many indirect ways; that the only question is whether we shall declare war now or later; that to postpone decision is to cause the British to carry part of our burden for us, making us like the rich draftees who hired substitutes during the American Civil War. A declaration of war would give an enormous lift to people fighting Hitler all over the world; it would create a true lineup of the world's democracies in a sense that does not exist at the present time. The Post argues that we owe it to our moral integrity to clear up our present equivocal position.

This is certainly a question of the utmost importance, probably second only to the matter of our actual defense efforts and material aid to Britain. The Post could have emphasized more than it did the practical factors in the American situation. With a declaration of war, many controls that are now possible only in partial form or not at all could be exercised. We could then much more effectively suppress corporations and individuals who are still trying to maintain business as usual—and there are more of them than most people think. Both Congress and the public would accept far heavier burdens in the form of taxation and restrictions upon private activities of all kinds than they are now willing to tolerate. It is possible that, as a formal ally of the anti-Hitler bloc, we could exert a more important influence on the course of the war than we can at present, even remembering that the British cannot win without our help and are well aware of it.

On the other side of the balance we must put some things of substantial importance. There is always the danger, though perhaps not now a serious one, that after a declaration of war, in order to equip our own army, we might slacken our effort to help the British. This was certainly true in 1917. Even if it did not happen, we should probably coöperate with Britain somewhat less well; a nation formally and completely at war is likely to take its own course more than one that is in the struggle unofficially and in a restricted sense.

There is also the question as to what effect our declaration might have upon the forces aligned against us. Hitler apparently is doing his best to postpone our full entrance into the struggle—which might be considered an argument in favor of going in now. On the other hand, he can force on us a declaration of war at any time he pleases, by any single hostile action of a sort that neither Congress nor the public would tolerate. To that extent, the decision is already partly out of our hands.

There is also Japan. We do not take too seriously her solemn pledge to go to war with anybody who joins the struggle against Hitler; we think she would break this pledge if it seemed to her expedient to do so. It is just possible, however, that the Japanese might be on the point of challenging the United States, or at least defying us in regard to the Dutch East Indies, and our declaring war on Germany might be the final weight in the scale to influence her decision in favor of aggression.

Another point and perhaps most important of all: it is not certain that a majority of the American people and of Congress are as yet psychologically ready for a declaration of war. This might be true even though they have shown that they were quite ready for the occupation of Iceland and are in our judgment entirely prepared to start shooting. For this curious mental situation several things are responsible. Many of our people are still not wholly convinced that this country is in deadly peril. Even if they feel dimly that this is true, some of them still hope that this peril can be averted without the terrible cost, in blood and property, of going to war. There are remaining scars from the experience of 1917-18, when we joined the conflict at least partly for ends which, as it turned out, were not realized and could not have been realized in view of the policies and secret commitments of the Allies. No doubt German propaganda is partly responsible for the confusion and cross purposes that exist among our people. At any rate the blunt truth, however regrettable it may prove for the future, is that as matters stand at this moment, for the President to request an immediate declaration of war would plunge the whole country into a debate even fiercer than the present one. The spectacle of the nation divided and at cross purposes would comfort the totalitarians and spread dismay among the British and their Allies. It would therefore be a mistake to demand the formal action until it is plain that our national opinion has matured to the necessary extent.

But this does not mean that we need to mark time or that our present war effort need be inhibited to the slightest extent. The American people have repeatedly shown that they are now ready for deeds of war even if they are not prepared for words of war. It is just as true as it ever was that the best defense, the only defense, is to attack. If the Germans had occupied Iceland before the British got there, we should be seriously menaced. There are other points where a landing by a hostile power could be almost or quite as dangerous for us. For the sake of our national safety we hope the President will immediately take all necessary steps to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prevent any such encroachment. We hope he will not hesitate a moment because of the fact that this may mean a shooting war. We are already committed in dozens of ways to shooting when necessary; let us take the actions that are needed and let Hitler choose between swallowing them and attempting reprisals. All over the world people have come to see in the recent past that if a democracy is not prepared to be militant, it is not prepared to survive. Americans are coming to that truth tardily—but they are coming.

Do We Need the WPA?

THE WPA will probably devote 30 or 40 percent of its time during the next year directly to defense. Most of this work will be done under army and navy direction. But there is much more the WPA can do to make this country strong. To remove the bottlenecks from our transportation, communication and power systems alone is a vitally necessary job and one of great magnitude—one that cannot be done by cutting the WPA appropriation a third below last year and to less than half the amount necessary to employ all eligibles. Eligibles is a polite term for the 2,800,000 family heads who cannot get jobs and who must either starve or sit idly at home on relief unless they can get on the WPA. An appropriation of $875,000,000 will leave 1,800,000 eligibles idle and uncared for. Since the country has work to be done, the logical step is to match man with job. Our reactionary congressmen, who have listened to too many bad jokes while sitting cozily in their overstuffed chairs in Washington, say the men can't do the job. These miserable people, they imply, won't work.

But the WPA has remade the face of America. As we look back upon eight years of intermittent reform and understand that an era has ended and a new one begun, we realize that while we argued and fought over it and weighed its soul and prayed for its sins, the WPA did the work America had forgotten to do. Physical America has had her face lifted, a muscle tightened here, a wrinkle smoothed there, a job done comparable to moving mountains, and "the guys who wouldn't work" did it. The WPA built:

517,431 miles of highways, roads and streets
54,426 bridges and viaducts
4,499 schools and libraries
132 hospitals
7,071 recreational buildings
1,394 parks
2,521 playgrounds
2,630 athletic fields
1,646 incinerator plants
834 pumping stations
639 sewage plants
11,242 miles of water mains
3,429 water wells
1,933,000 sanitary privies
560,000 manholes and catch basins
17,928 miles of sewers
2,153 miles of electric wires
2,881 miles of telephone and telegraph wires
4,973 firebreaks
439 miles of levies and embankments
15,815 conservation dams
285,000 acres of irrigation systems

Those jobs and thousands more. Except for highways, the list doesn't mention repairs. The WPA built 25,796 public buildings, but the number of its reconstructions and improvements is 67,724, and the number of additions to public buildings, 3,302. Nor does the list take in the 21,343,386 feet of culverts, or the traffic-control lines that would span the nation in both directions. It says nothing about the 13,000,000 acres of land drained (other than airport, roadside and mosquito-control ground), of the 829 cemeteries reconstructed, the billion-and-a-half fingerlings per year provided for America's lakes and streams, or of the adult-education classes, with an attendance of a million, or the WPA concerts (attendance, 3,909,000). The women's projects have completed 222,683,000 garments (not to mention 67,000,000 articles "other than garments" and 42,203,000 quarts of food canned). WPA writers have published 134 books and 565 pamphlets, and the Index of American Design plates number 18,833.

When you motor through New York City, take a long look at the Triborough Bridge, every foot of its majestic four miles a WPA project. So are LaGuardia Field and the Chicago Municipal Airport, two of the 197 landing fields constructed by the WPA along the nation's skyways. This resumé takes us to June 30, 1940. June of last year was a month for history. WPA emphasis shifted toward defense then. But see how the airports and roads and communication lines—and the thousands of military buildings constructed and repaired—fit into our present needs. If this was boondoggling, we should have had more of it.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, STARK YOUNG; *Washington Editor:* MICHAEL STRAIGHT; *Treasurer:* DANIEL MEBANE; *Assistant Editors:* NIGEL DENNIS, BYRON DEXTER, OTIS FERGUSON, ELIZABETH HULING; *Contributing Editors:* H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, JULIAN HUXLEY, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, R. G. TUGWELL; *Advertising Manager:* E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

EDITED AND PRODUCED UNDER UNION CONDITIONS BY CONTRACT WITH THE BOOK AND MAGAZINE GUILD, LOCAL 18, UOPWA, CIO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Making America Over

THE MOST DANGEROUS MISTAKE for Americans, next to the failure to arm enough and in a short enough time, would be to think with too niggard an imagination about the future. One enormous advantage Hitler has had over his enemies has been his assurance that he was preparing a true worldwide revolution while the democracies only wanted to preserve the status quo. His statement is false as regards Nazi aims; not only are they not truly revolutionary, they are in most aspects reactionary to the last degree; but there is just enough truth in his gibe against the democracies to make it hurt.

In the past, we have certainly not done enough to bring to all our people the material, mental and spiritual satisfactions that are possible. We have accepted too easily the fact that millions of our fellow citizens were living under heavy handicaps of poverty; we have been too complacent about exploitation by representatives of the democracies in other parts of the world. Democracy cannot win the world unless it has a genuine bargain to offer—a better bargain than fascism. If we were to try merely to maintain the status quo, we should run a good risk of not even being able to do that. What we need is the determination that we can and must make our world over as soon as we have destroyed Hitler's menace to our security, and indeed as part of the process.

What sort of world can we envisage, when we think in these terms? Let us begin with domestic matters, although these are closely related to worldwide efforts at reconstruction. While it is too early to attempt any detailed plan, it is possible to suggest the broad directions toward which our efforts must turn. To do this is not to engage in the unfruitful occupation of writing outlines for Utopia. It is, on the contrary, to project into the future lines that are already clearly visible.

It goes without saying that the first and most urgent problem has to do with the abolition of poverty. One no longer needs to argue the point that we have the physical resources and the technology to give everybody in the United States a minimum income substantially higher than the average income today. We are held back by inertia, by ignorance and by sabotage, conscious or unconscious. These things exist throughout our whole society but are especially important in the comparatively small groups at the top which exert an altogether disproportionate degree of economic power.

The problem is of course a dual one. In part it requires some social control of national income, with guarantees that no one in the whole population shall have less than the required minimum standard of life. A beginning, at least, of such control has been under way for the past eight years, forced upon us by the necessities of the depression, though what has been done is smaller than is demanded by the situation. The other great point of attack is increase of total national income. Many of our worst problems disappear or are minimized in an era of expanding productivity, not forced by the emergency of war. We know enough in theory to bring this about if we could only manage to practise in the light of our new information.

For the average individual, a successful state is one which gives him a chance for continuous employment throughout most of his adult life, sufficient monetary reward to enable him to marry and bring up a family, and security for himself and his dependents during his old age. That does not seem an exorbitant set of demands. There are millions of Americans still living who can remember when satisfaction of these normal desires was taken for granted by the overwhelming majority of all the citizens of this country, without any sort of government aid. We have come a long way since then.

Here and there one still finds an occasional individual who insists that the fifteen million persons or more who were unemployed at the beginning of 1933 had lost their jobs because of some fault of their own—presumably a sort of mass psychosis that suddenly descended upon them. Occasionally one finds a newspaper like The Chicago Tribune, which, accepting the theory of individual responsibility, once argued that the state had a perfect right to let the unemployed starve to death and that they should be exceedingly grateful if it did not exercise that right. But opinions as shortsighted and brutal as this have become extremely rare—a change in the mental climate for which the Roosevelt administration deserves full credit. The overwhelmingly majority now knows that when 15,000,000 people suddenly lose their jobs, it is because they are victims of a preventable economic storm. It knows, too, that if a person earning $10 or $12 a week fails to save up enough money to provide for his old age, this is not because he is a spendthrift. The set of demands listed above is now recognized universally as the minimum which the state can in decency offer its citizens. If one kind of government is reluctant to make such a bargain, it is likely to find itself eventually superseded by another that will.

Since the welfare and security of all our citizens should be the first claim upon our national organization after the war, we need to bring about the necessary increase of income and the insurance of adequate standards of living for the poorest elements in the population. This means that investment in new enterprise should not be left wholly to the unaided operation of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the desire of private individuals to earn a profit. In the past, serious difficulties have arisen because at certain times there was overinvestment in some types of activity and underinvestment in others. The trial-and-error method of unrestricted private capitalism is not without its advantages, but from the point of view of society as a whole, it has very grave disadvantages as well.

It is desirable that in the future, society should have some say about the general direction of our investment and the proportions of our total national income that go into consumers' goods, capital goods and other purposes. Failure to achieve a constitutional framework within which wise individual and corporate investment can take place will inevitably mean a continuing series of depressions and an unstable base for our whole society. Our task is to develop and retain an ever increasing sense of responsibility for the society of which we are all members. At the same time we should be opening up ever new avenues for our individual and corporate initiative.

The land, for instance, is our chief national and social inheritance, and one pressing job before the country is saving it in the most literal, physical sense. In spite of all the talk about the necessity to conserve our natural resources, we have not yet followed up discussion with adequate action. We are still losing the battle against the wastage of our soil through improper farm methods. Congress has never yet been willing to spend enough money to stop this dangerous leak—a leak that will turn America into a desert in less than a century if it is not eradicated. Careful estimates by government scientists say that as little as four billion dollars would turn the tide in the direction of conservation. Here is a post-war problem of the greatest magnitude. Uncle Sam can never surrender, but can only delegate, his responsibility for it as the ultimate and final "landlord." His need to watch the interests of posterity must compel him to act when individuals or groups, corporations or the state allow permanent depreciation to set in whether in forest or soil deterioration. Yet by individual coöperative enterprise and initiative will each generation extract the maximum social and economic return from the land.

Many other and extensive activities in which government can share are of course required. As mentioned in an earlier article, our entire public road system is now obsolescent in terms of the high-speed automobile of today—to say nothing of that of tomorrow. It needs to be rebuilt by men of imaginative daring. We urgently require a great system of new national highways between our coasts and our borders, passing near but not through our chief cities and built for efficiency without sacrificing utility to the saving of a few dollars, which is the case with nearly every road of the present and past.

Everyone knows that we need new housing, but few people realize how much is required. As we have said earlier, the poor, broadly speaking, have never had fit homes: they have only lived in the cast-off houses of the well-to-do. But the middle class also needs more and better new homes than it has been getting. Even the most hard-boiled real-estate man, whose prosperity depends largely on having a deficit of houses rather than a surplus, concedes that we have a shortage amounting to many billions of dollars.

Houses are not the only part of our physical structure that needs overhauling. If we could afford it—and who is to say that we cannot?—we should rebuild our cities and indeed whole regions, in accordance with the needs of present-day life and the principles only lately developed, of proper planning. In general, our towns should be decentralized; with the types of power now available there is no reason why factories should not be constructed in a ring of satellite suburbs near the metropolis but not a part of it, with the workers living, if they wish to, in peaceful and beautiful surroundings and yet near their places of employment.

When we come to education, health and other welfare services the opportunities for improvement are shockingly apparent. A large part of our total population receives no adequate medical care. Hospitalization in some parts of the country is conspicuous by its absence and almost nowhere is it, or the advice of specialists, available at prices that can be paid by the average worker without hardship. Our medical research is excellent so far as it goes, but the leaders in this field are the first to say that much more of it, and better coördination, are urgently needed. It is quite possible that a few million dollars spent over a short period of time in a coördinated effort might solve some of the great pressing mysteries of science such as cancer, the common cold and the deterioration in bodily functions with old age. We also need much increased research in many other fields: a list, recently compiled, of badly needed inventions in industry alone had several hundred items. While some of this research can be financed from private sources, a great deal of it can only be done properly with public funds.

In the matter of education, two general criticisms apply: we do not give a sufficient amount or quality of education to enough of our people, and we do not select on the proper basis those who are to receive it. In spite of the scholarships that are made available from many sources, it still remains true that the middle class is heavily overrepresented in our colleges and universities and that the working class is underrepresented. Particularly in our great state universities in the West, going to college is too often considered only a part of the desirable social background of a moderately well-to-do family, with very little connection with intellectual achievement. There is not much attempt to find out who are the people in the community who most deserve a college education on a basis of their innate abilities and to see that they get it, regardless of their financial status. This is not to say that the institutions of higher learning should be barred against those of only mod-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

erate intelligence who now seek admission; our ideal ought to be more education, not less. But certainly we should begin by searching out those of unusual intellectual abilities and giving them, at society's expense, the training that will enable them to return the obligation manyfold.

The same principle applies to those of high gifts in the creative arts, even though their qualities may not be such as to make the ordinary type of college training desirable. One of the great things that the WPA arts projects did for America was to give a chance to a number of struggling young artists—particularly sculptors, painters, musicians and workers in the theatre—who otherwise might not have broken through their economic chains for years, if at all. No civilization has ever had too many people of great ability in these fields—or has done too much for them.

In general, the test of any era ought to be whether it can support a large and increasing proportion of its population in services other than those devoted to the primary necessities of food, clothing and shelter. On this scale we are doing far less than we should. We could use to great advantage many more doctors, dentists, research scientists, authors, composers, painters, sculptors, dancers, actors and other practitioners of the arts and sciences. To say this is not the same as recommending that mediocre talents should be encouraged to pour out masses of second-rate products. A wise society will both search out those of the highest gifts, putting their gifts to use, and will set increasingly high standards of achievement. In such a society "the cult of the second-rate," so painfully evident today in such popular arts as journalism, the motion picture and the radio, can and should be greatly diminished. Many people feel it is unfortunate that our new-found leisure should be devoted so largely to endless automobile driving, radio listening and movie attendance, at the very time when for various reasons open-air activity in our incomparable areas of natural beauty is more available than ever before. It is at least possible that if we were wiser there should be a diminution of "spectator sports" and passive recreation and an increase in active participation of all sorts.

It may seem to the impatient reader that we are here doing what we promised not to do, and merely writing the outline of Utopia. But this is not true. We have mentioned a number of subjects in only a few lines each, because it is necessary either merely to catalogue them or to discuss each at great length; but there is an enormous difference between this catalogue and that of a Sir Thomas More describing Utopia or a Samuel Butler writing about Erewhon. Every one of the items listed in this article is well within the possibilities of the present moment. Not one depends upon some future invention or discovery or some new principle. To bring them about it is only necessary that our political and economic technology should be brought up to the level of our technology in science. Our politicians and business men should begin to put to work the findings of our experts and, conversely, the experts should begin to share the responsibility for direction which they now leave to others.

It is hard for many people to realize what enormous advances in human knowledge have been made in the past thirty or forty years. Machine productivity has been revolutionized in that length of time by the wholesale adoption of the belt-line principle and by new or expanded sources of power such as the internal-combustion engine and better forms of electric production. Medical science, including nutrition and other aspects of our daily life, has made great strides. The whole field of psychology has been so revolutionized that it would be better to say that it has been born rather than reborn. For the first time, people have gained a knowledge of the mechanism of finance and economics so that we need no longer be the victims of the ebb and flow of prosperity which were formerly thought to be immutable laws of nature. We now have important clues to mass behavior of other types, including war and the rise of dictators. A dazzling future is held out for us if we can only get around the present extremely bad corner.

We have discussed above the internal aspects of the problem; but there are external ones as well. Some points regarding the sort of international action required for a continuing peaceful and prosperous world order will be raised in another article in this series.

This is the fifth of a series of editorial articles discussing various aspects of the post-war period. "Standards of Living and of Life," "The Alternative to Fascism," "Ground Plan for a Post-War World" and "What Comes After the War?" appeared in our issues of December 9 and 23, February 3 and May 26. — THE EDITORS

Exile Boat

1607-1941

A shuddering mass of miles the ship must cancel
For every soul aboard counting the distance
With sick and eager pulse:
How can this thin-aired longing build a wharf?
This solid wave before them fracture into foam,
The cavorting bright residue of their speed?
How will the first sea gull
Wheel outward from that fabled land, the goal
Drawn in a dream?
There is no finding;
Only for some forgetting, and for some creating.

Tears fill the vacant watching for the land:
There is a spanless interval where no wing soars
After the gulls of the lost continent return
Before the birds of the new land come forth.

VIRGINIA HAMILTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Three Invaders of Russia

Napoleon, Wilhelm, Hitler

NAPOLEON, WILHELM, HITLER. How many people there are who draw encouragement from the grouping of these three names, the direful comparison of these careers. The paths of glory—and so on. Napoleon went to St. Helena. Wilhelm to Doorn. Hitler will go . . . some place. So let's go to the movies.

This sort of soporific day-dreaming is no more meaningless than many of the elaborate parallels that have been drawn among these leaders and their wars. Hardly ever does anyone say the one thing that most needs saying, the thing that invalidates all the happy conclusions and sets Hitler far apart from those other conquerors who came, so obligingly, to a tragic end.

The fundamental fact that lies back of all the other fundamentals about these three careers of conquest is this: When the strongest single military power in the world is bent upon aggression, it can be stopped only by an effective coalition of other powers; and anything that makes such a coalition difficult or impossible will provide a God-sent opportunity for the conqueror. The one strongest power thrives in a divided and disintegrated world; the weaker powers perish. The conquering power may make temporary alliances, as a matter of convenience; but any opposing weaker power must have allies, or die. In the World War of a century and a half ago, it took a coalition of Europe to destroy Napoleon. In the World War of 1914-18, it required a coalition of Europe and America to beat down the Kaiser. The actual and potential victims of Napoleon's France and Wilhelm's Germany saved themselves by forgetting their differences and fighting for their lives. This was, and is, the only way. The past could teach us that—if it can teach us anything at all.

Early in the course of the French Revolution, when Napoleon was still unheard of, Empress Catherine of Russia laid a curse on France (in 1792 she wrote: "The cause of the King of France is that of all the kings"); but she let it go at that, and the First Coalition had to make shift without her. Emperor Paul marched against the French; then turned around and marched against the English (in India: the Russian expedition did not arrive). Emperor Alexander withdrew from the Second Coalition, then joined the Third against Napoleon, then made a separate peace that gave the control of western Poland to Napoleon and also left Napoleon free to deal with his Western enemies, while at the same time it enabled Alexander to conquer and annex Finland and Bessarabia (compare Alexander's Peace of Tilsit, 1807, with Stalin's Soviet-German Pact, 1939).

Then in due course, having chosen for himself the time, the place and the manner of the attack (exactly as Hitler did four weeks ago), Napoleon marched on Moscow. By the very sophisticated use of very primitive methods, the Russians defeated him. But not the Russians alone: the British had a substantial expeditionary force on the Continent, and with their Spanish allies, they overwhelmed the French in the brilliant action at Salamanca, less than a month after Napoleon's army crossed the Niemen into Russia. Before Napoleon entered Moscow, Wellington had entered Madrid. The war of 1812 in which the Russians defeated Napoleon, was one with the war in which the Spanish and the English defeated him simultaneously, at the other end of the Continent; it was a two-front war, though the Russians find it easy to forget that this is so. And before Napoleon was finally destroyed, it had become an all-European war for an all-European victory.

If the Russians tend to minimize the role of the West in the defeat of Napoleon (Mr. Molotov is the latest to do so), many Westerners have been even less appreciative of the help that Russia gave in the defeat of the Central Powers in 1914-18. This was particularly true shortly after the signing of the Russo-German pact of 1939 and the outbreak of the present war. In the new conflict, there was no Russian front. Very well, it could be spared. It had not amounted to a great deal in the other war, anyhow. So ran the argument.

Since the beginning of the terrible one-front campaign of 1939 that destroyed France and all but destroyed Britain, one has heard less about the inconsequence of the Eastern front in the old World War; and as a matter of fact, it was just about as far from the truth as anything could be. The answer to the old question "Who won the war?" is, probably, that each of the Allies won it. That is, it would very probably have been lost if any one of these powers (the United States, or any of the earlier participants) had been absent from the field. In this sense, the Russians quite certainly won the war of 1914-18. They began that war with a vast, blundering offensive in East Prussia: the Second Army, under Samsonov, was sent forward half-mobilized, and driven back half-destroyed; and while the rout was still in progress, the commanding general went aside from his officers into the forest and shot a bullet into his own skull. Yet at this very

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time the French and the British were fighting and winning the First Battle of the Marne, and by holding and diverting German troops "the agony of the Russian Second Army" in East Prussia almost certainly contributed heavily to the Allied success in France. However, the best measure of the Russian contribution to the Allied cause is to be found in certain figures that are all too little known—figures that show that shortly before the revolutionary disintegration of the Russian army, the Central Powers were maintaining *more troops* on the Russo-Rumanian front than on the Franco-British front in the West. These troops were not on the Eastern front for the sake of the winter climate; they were there because the best general staff in the world, the German, had decided that they were needed; and this hard-headed calculation should dispose for good and all of the idea that the Russians did not count for very much in the other war.

If it is hard to drive this idea out of Western heads, it would be still harder to persuade the Russians, on their side, that by defeating the Central Powers after Russia had exploded and withdrawn from the World War, France, Britain, Italy and the United States saved the Russian Revolution. Yet this is probably true. The Russians remember very clearly the intervention of the Allies on Russian territory, after the fall of Germany; and the citizens of the USSR are supremely proud of their own rough handling of these piddling and half-hearted Allied expeditions. But the only foreign army that ever very seriously threatened Revolutionary Russia, before the eruption of Nazi Germany, was an earlier German army—the Kaiser's (with some help from the Austrians). From the middle of 1917 onward, the Russians were entirely helpless before the advance of this army; it overran the Ukraine at will, and set up a counter-revolutionary government in this vast territory. If Germany had the will and the strength to do this while she was still preparing, fighting and losing her last and greatest battle in the West, what might she not have done in Russia if she had won that Western battle? The peace of Brest-Litovsk and the Ukrainian regime of Hetman Skoropadskii give only a faint suggestion of what a Germany victorious in the West might have imposed on Eastern Europe. But the "imperialist" Allies saved Revolutionary Russia from a power more imperialist than themselves. Russia had helped the Western Allies. The Allies had helped Russia. And once again the coalition and the two-front war had done their grim and salutary work.

In the world of Napoleon and in the world of William II (down to 1917), there were among the nations of Europe no differences so profound as to make it impossible for a number of states threatened by an all-powerful aggressor to align themselves against him. The nations could and did divide, without great difficulty, into two groups—the party of the conqueror, and the party of those threatened with conquest. But with the rise of the communist state and the fascist states, the powers of the world have fallen into three groups (while the states of the democratic group are divided once more among themselves). There are people who like to pretend that this tripartite division of the world is unreal; each such person likes to believe that the two parties other than his own are actually one and the same. Hitler is a good pretender; he has an elaborate formula (now down off the shelf again, after two years of disuse) for identifying capitalist democracy with communist dictatorship; it is all very obscure, but it seems to have something to do with the Jews (Hitler *talks* in terms of the unity of all his victims, but *acts* in terms of their disunity; his wars are very much better than his speeches). The Communist pretender thinks, on the other hand, that Nazism and democracy are two names for the same thing—capitalism; he believes that the war between Germany and Britain is a phony war—a minor interlude in the long history of the international capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union; he wants—or until four weeks ago he wanted—no alliance with Britain (why fight to save capitalism, imperialism, and so on?). Thirdly and finally, the Tory pretender sees no difference between Nazism and communism; he wants no help from the Soviet Union, and will give none to it (why fight to save socialism?); and until a few days ago he expected the USSR and the Third Reich to melt by common consent into one vast dictatorship.

Well, it only remains now for someone to tell us that the Russo-German war (like the Franco-British-German one!) is a phony war; and then we can say a phony prayer for the phony dead that lie, so many and so silent, in all the fields of Europe.

When France and Britain fought their great battle on the Continent, there was no Eastern front. Now, when Russia is fighting her great battle, there is no real Western front. And when the United States fights its own great fight, there may be neither an Eastern nor a Western front anywhere, except in our own Eastern and Western states. Whose fault this was, is, and will be, is a matter that can be debated in a more convenient season. Whose tragedy it is, Paris, London, Moscow, Washington, ought to know by now. Whose sublime good fortune, Berlin knows better than anyone.

If there is to be an end of this folly, the first requisite is to realize that the differences that separate communism, Nazism and democracy are real differences, and that their parceling of the world creates a situation that is supremely serviceable to the most powerful and aggressive state of our era. If the most powerful and aggressive of states happened to be Britain or Russia, this situation would be highly favorable to *her;* but it is not Britain or Russia, and in due time (if there is enough of it left) everyone will realize just what state it is. The next thing is to try to recover some of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

real realism of our ancestors; they knew that it was not possible to settle everything in one war—they proved that by having a number of wars, and yet leaving a number of things unsettled. But there is at least one problem that they knew how to deal with; they knew how to deal with conquerors—simply by uniting against them and smashing them down.

It is more difficult now than it used to be, to unite for the immediate, but not too limited, end of salvage from destruction; but it must be done, if the democrat is to save his democracy, the communist his communism—if anyone is to save anything that has a meaning for him. Yes, it is very hard to *unite* for Armageddon in this sectarian world, but the thing must be done. There is no other way.

GEROID TANQUARY ROBINSON

Guerrilla Tactics in Soviet Defense

A FEW DAYS AGO Joseph Stalin called upon the people in the war areas to adopt every possible means of defending the Soviet Fatherland against the Nazi invaders. He invoked for all Russia something like the scorched-earth policy used by the Chinese in their withdrawal from the developed bases of their eastern provinces. Already irregulars are actively harassing the flanks and rear of the fast-moving Nazi columns. And reports quoting German war correspondents indicate that Soviet partisans have had some success in slowing down the moto-mechanized invasion.

Yet for many observers Stalin's speech deepened skepticism concerning the efficiency of the Red Army rather than inspired confidence in the resoluteness of Soviet resistance. Some of our military men are frankly scornful about resort to guerrilla warfare so early in the campaign. They contend that it is futile in facing Hitler's huge machine. China provides no analogy, these people say; conditions there are entirely different.

The differences between war conditions in China and Russia are fairly obvious; but there are also important similarities which favor guerrilla warfare. Both China and Russia are vast countries with large populations. Both have rich but unevenly developed resources. Both possess numerous land and water barriers dividing or connecting deep hinterland spaces and population centers, lying in between modern transport and communications systems, which can be rendered inaccessible to motorized armies. In all these respects save numbers Russia is better off than China and in terms of political morale she is immeasurably stronger.

It is often supposed that the modern methods of warfare leave no function for the guerrilla, but recent experience has not shown that to be so. When shock power and maneuvering power were completely subordinated to fire power in the First World War the irregular did appear to become an anomaly, except in backward regions such as Arabia and Africa. But he was resuscitated in the revival of mobile warfare itself. Moreover, he came back better armed: with the automatic rifle, the submachine gun and the light machine gun, but above all with powerful new organizational and political methods enabling him to draw upon the total population for support.

Even in a small country like Spain, which lacks a deep hinterland, guerrilla tactics proved useful when reinforced by revolutionary aims. But it is in the spacious valleys and mountains and forests and the millions of people of China and Russia that the present-day guerrilla finds his ideal milieu. In the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and their Soviet hinterland, and in the Baltic states and Poland and Rumania, Communist partisans probably will prove as useful to the main Soviet forces as they were in civil-war days.

The Nazi army can be destroyed only by a more numerous and efficient army based on a higher industrial development; but it can never be beaten at all unless time is won in which to build that army, be it the product of one country or of many. Time is the biggest element of risk in the Nazi scheme of conquest as a whole or in part. With perfect timing no dream is too fantastic to be realized; without it, the most carefully laid Nazi plan or the most skillful improvization may fail. It is in that respect that Soviet resistance may be decisive—and that guerrilla warfare can immensely increase Hitler's difficulties.

Every military campaign may be said to have three phases: (1) penetration of the enemy's main defense lines and capture of his bases; (2) destruction of enemy main forces and military consolidation; and (3) pacification of the occupied areas, which implies crushing of the will to resist. Guerrilla war especially strives to make costly or impossible enemy exploitation of conquered resources and productive power, to keep alive the local will to resist and to frustrate enemy attempts to push farther inland for a speedy conclusion.

That the Soviets will try to accomplish those tasks by partisan activity is indicated not only by the conditions already mentioned, but also by historical experience and by certain social and economic factors which strikingly favor the use of guerrilla methods. These seem to me about as follows:

1. The Reds are the first people to come into conflict with the Nazis who fully understand the political as well as the military terms of the war. Hence they have studied and plotted the relation of every individual to the task of national defense and have everywhere assigned the civilian population active combat duties.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2. The Red army has 10,000,000 trained reserves. Besides, there are roughly 10,000,000 veterans of the World War and the civil war. Altogether, some fifty million people in Russia know how to shoot. For twenty years the Communists have prepared the people physically and psychologically for this moment as the supreme test of Soviet socialism.

3. The Soviet and the Collective are splendid instruments with which to conduct resistance against an invader, whether it is for a go-slow strike or mass support for armed guerrillas. The enemy cannot destroy them without paralyzing productive machinery which he badly needs; to replace them with his own people is a staggering job and a drain on his human reserves.

4. Because of all this preparation, experience and understanding it is possible that the Nazis will find in the USSR no class ally or fifth column in any position of strategic value to them. Russia's traitors have been extirpated in advance. The loss of technical ability involved in this "liquidation" doubtless will not be so serious a handicap to Soviet defense as the absence of a fifth column will be in Hitler's problems of consolidation and pacification.

5. Although the USSR has important industrial concentrations in the menaced western Soviet republics, production of military supplies can be maintained by newly opened factories and mines beyond the Urals —particularly at Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk—or by other developments farther east.

6. Probably the Russians have planned guerrilla operations in close integration with the defense scheme of the main forces. Apparently one strategic purpose of occupation of the small countries on the Soviet perimeter was to provide a buffer war zone which could not only absorb the first shock of Nazi surprise attack, but could be stocked with numerous carefully prepared small bases from which guerrillas are now emerging to attack Nazi motorized infantry and foot soldiers after the mechanized units are well forward. Not only concealed machine-guns nests and roving cavalry and infantry are participating in these flank sorties, but small speedy tanks are being used for the first time in guerrilla war.

7. Soviet partisans will from the beginning enjoy better fighting conditions than the Chinese guerrillas have ever had because the government and the Red Army will extend to them full military and political support and the authority to lead mass resistance among the millions. In China much of the guerrilla combat has been shouldered by the Chinese Red Army, which for months at a time receives no payment and no military or medical supplies from the anti-Red Chungking government.

The first act of a protracted struggle envisaged by Stalin is already being performed in the war zone, where all urban buildings, establishments and material which the enemy could convert to any important military use are being destroyed. Henceforth the contribution of the guerrillas doubtless may lie in continuous demolition and sabotage work, and in intensifying these activities already begun: the creation of flying salients in the enemy's flank and rear, the wrecking of roads and bridges over which supplies are being rushed to armored divisions now hundreds of miles inside Russia but still dependent on supply bases in Germany.

It should be possible, if Hitler gains the wheat and barley fields of the Ukraine before harvest time, for guerrilla troops to burn most of the crops. Doubtless the Red Army would dynamite the oil wells of the Caucasus before abandoning them; and coal, iron, manganese and other valuable mines probably could be kept inoperative or in very low-scale production for a considerable period. No doubt the Russians would be prepared to immobilize the shipyards at Sebastopol and Leningrad, and to wreck the naval base at Kronstadt, if forced to abandon these strategic positions. Many factories may also have to be sacrificed, and here no private-property rights could interfere with necessary national-defense measures. In all such tasks guerrillas would play a leading role—as likewise in aborting any Nazi-backed provincial "independence" movements.

Beyond the scope of this article, yet obviously of relevance, is the sabotage which may be expected to occur throughout Europe at a growing tempo. Soviet resistance is bound to revive the hope of success and liberation. A political, economic and finally an insurrectionary movement in the conqueror's rear becomes possible. Soon the Russian guerrillas may be joined by bands fighting elsewhere on the subjugated continent.

Even in China, where the best conditions for guerrilla and partisan warfare have not been realized, Japan is obliged to deploy more than a million troops to hold down the cities and rivers and railways and roads which her moto-mechanized divisions conquered with such ease years ago. Offensive after offensive has failed to destroy the forces of the Eighteenth Group Army, which has actually grown in numbers and fire power. At times more than half of all Japan's army of occupation has been deployed either in guarding points or patrol lines against surprise guerrilla attacks, or in expeditions against them.

With such poor material the guerrilla regimes in North China have been able to deny Japan a political decision, to limit her takings of cotton, wheat and tobacco production, and her exploitation of iron and coal resources, to negligible proportions, and to worry the Japanese rear so severely that they have never felt sufficient security to pursue and destroy Chiang Kai-shek's main forces far in the west.

Germany may conquer as much of Russia as Japan has taken of China, yet fail to destroy Russian resistance or to get a political decision and thus after a year or two find herself confronted with the one peril she sought above all to avoid: a continental war on two—or even four—fronts against enemies with air as well as naval supremacy.

EDGAR SNOW

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fighter Pilot

I WOKE LATE to the noise of machines running up on the airfield. It irritated me as I had a headache.

Having been on every flight the previous day, the morning was mine to do with as I pleased. I got up slowly, gazed dispassionately at my tongue in the mirror and wandered over to the mess for breakfast. It must have been getting on for 12 o'clock when I came out on to the airfield to find the usual August heat haze forming a dull pall over everything. I started to walk across the airfield to the dispersal point on the far side. There were only two machines on the ground, so I concluded that the squadron was already up. Then I heard a shout and our ground crew drew up in a truck beside me. Sergeant Ross leaned out:

"Want a lift, sir? We're going round."

"No, thanks, Sergeant. I'm going to cut across."

This was forbidden for obvious reasons, but I just felt like that.

"O. K., sir, see you round there."

The truck trundled off down the road in a cloud of dust. I walked on across the landing ground. At that moment I heard the emotionless voice of the controller.

"Large enemy bombing formation approaching Hornchurch. All personnel not engaged on active duty take cover immediately."

I looked up. They were still not visible. At the dispersal point I saw Danvers and Roberts, two of our pilots, make a dash for the shelter; three Spitfires, just landed, turned about and came past me with a roar to take off down wind; our truck, still trundling along the road, maybe halfway round, suddenly looked an awfully long way from the dispersal point.

I looked up again and this time I saw them; about a dozen slugs, shining in the bright sun and coming straight on. At the rising scream of the first bomb, I instinctively shrugged up my shoulders and ducked my head. Out of the corner of my eye I saw the three Spitfires. One moment they were about twenty feet up in close formation; the next catapulted apart as though on elastic. The leader went over on his back and plowed along the runway with a rending crash of tearing fabric; No. 2 put a wing in and spun round on his propeller, while the plane on the left was blasted wingless into the next field. I remember thinking stupidly, "That's the shortest flight he's ever taken," and then my feet were nearly knocked from under me, my mouth was full of dirt, and Danvers, gesticulating like a lunatic from the shelter entrance, was yelling: "Run, you bloody fool, run!" I ran. Suddenly awakened to the lunacy of my behavior, I covered the distance to that shelter as if impelled by a rocket and shot through the entrance as once again the ground rose up and hit me, causing me to smash my head hard against one of the pillars. I subsided on a heap of rubble and massaged it.

"Who's here?" I asked, peering through the gloom.

"Roberts and I and three of our ground crew," said Danvers, "and, by the grace of God, you!"

I could see by his mouth that he was still talking but a sudden concentration of the scream and crump of falling bombs made it impossible to hear him.

The air was thick with dust and the shelter shook and heaved at each explosion, yet somehow held firm. For about three minutes the bedlam continued, and then as suddenly ceased. In the utter silence which followed nobody moved. We none of us wished to be the first to look on the devastation which we felt must be outside. Then Roberts spoke. "Praise God!" he said, "I'm not a civilian. Of all the bloody frightening things I've ever done, sitting in that shelter was the worst. Me for the air from now on!"

It broke the tension and we scrambled out of the entrance. The runways were certainly in something of a mess. Gaping holes and great gobbets of earth were everywhere. Right in front of us a bomb had landed by my Spitfire, covering it with grit and rubble.

I turned to the aircraftsman standing beside me.

"Will you get hold of Sergeant Ross and tell him to have a crew give her an inspection?"

He jerked his head toward one corner of the airport.

"I think I'd better collect the crew myself, sir. Sergeant Ross won't be doing any more inspections."

I followed his glance and saw the truck, the roof about twenty yards away, lying grotesquely on its side. I climbed into the cockpit and, feeling faintly sick, tested out the switches. Danvers poked his head in.

"Let's go over to the mess and see what's up: our machines will be landing down at Rockford anyway."

I climbed out and walked over to find the three Spitfire pilots celebrating in the bar, quite unharmed but for a few scratches. "Operations" was undamaged, no hangar had been touched and the officers' mess had two windows broken.

The station commander ordered every available man and woman onto the job of repairing the airdrome surface and by 4 o'clock there was not a hole to be seen. Several unexploded bombs were marked off, but two lines of yellow flags were laid down to mark the runways. At 5 o'clock our squadron, taking off for a flight from Rockford, landed without incident on its home base. Thus, apart from four men killed in the truck and a network of holes on the landing surface, there was nothing to show for ten minutes of really accurate bombing from 12,000 feet, in which several dozen sticks of bombs had been dropped. It was a striking

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proof of the inefficacy of their attempts to wipe out our advance fighter airfields.

One of our fellows had a bullet through his foot, and as my machine was still out of commission, I took his place in readiness for the next show. I had had enough of the ground for one day.

Six o'clock came and went and no call. We started to play poker and I was winning. It was agreed that we should stop at 7: should anything happen before then, the game was off. I gazed anxiously at the clock. I am always unlucky at cards, but when the hands pointed to 6:55 I began to feel my luck was changing. At that moment came the voice of the controller:

"603 Squadron take off and patrol base: further instructions in the air."

We made a dash for our machines and within two minutes were off the ground. Twice we circled the airfield to allow all twelve planes to get in formation. We were flying in four sections of three; red section leading, blue and green to right and left and the three remaining planes forming a guard section above and behind us. I was flying No. 2 in the blue section.

Over the radio came the voice of the controller:

"Hullo, Red leader. Vigor calling; Vector 120 and buster: over." This meant that there was no time to lose. Back came the answer: "Hullo, Vigor. Red leader answering. Understand Vector 120 and buster: over."

As always, for the first few minutes, we flew on the reciprocal of the course given until we reached 15,000 feet. We then turned about and flew on 110 feet in an all-out climb, thus coming out of the sun and gaining height all the way.

During the climb our squadron leader was in constant touch with the ground. We were to intercept about twenty enemy fighters flying at 25,000 feet. I glanced across at Peters, my section leader, and saw his mouth moving. That meant he was singing again. He would sometimes do this with his radio set on "send," and we would get a raucous rendering of "Night and Day" mingled with our instructions from the ground.

I looked down. It was a completely cloudless sky and way below me lay the English countryside, stretching lazily into the distance, a quite extraordinary picture of green and purple in the setting sun.

I took a glance at my altimeter. We were at 28,000 feet. At that moment one of the guard section yelled "Tallyho" and dropped down in front of the squadron leader in a slow dive in the direction of the approaching planes. He saw them at once.

"O. K. Line astern."

I drew in behind Peters and took a look at them. They were about two thousand feet below, but they must have spotted us at the same moment we saw them, for they were forming a protective circle, one behind the other, a defense formation quite hard to break.

"Echelon starboard," came the leader's voice.

We spread out fanwise to the right.

"Going down!"

One after the other we peeled off in a power dive. I picked out one machine and switched my gun button to "Fire." At 300 yards I had him in my sight. At 200 I opened up in a long four-second burst and saw the tracer going into his nose. Then I was pulling out, so hard that I could feel my eyes dropping through my neck. Coming round in a slow climbing turn, I saw that we had broken them up. The sky was now a mass of individual dog fights. Several of them had already been knocked down. One, I hoped, was mine, but on pulling up I had not been able to see the result. To my left I saw Peters make a head-on attack on a Messerschmitt. They were headed straight for each other and it looked as though the fire of both were striking home. Then at the last moment the Messerschmitt pulled up taking Peters' fire full in the belly. It rolled onto its back, yellow flames pouring from the cockpit, and vanished.

The next few minutes were typical. First a mass of twisting machines and tracer bullets; then suddenly silence and not a plane to be seen. I noticed then that I was very tired and very hot. The sweat was running down my face in rivulets. But this was no time for vague reflections. Flying around the sky on one's own at that time was not healthy.

I still had some ammunition left, and had no desire to return to the airfield until it had all been used to some good purpose, so I took a look around the sky for some friendly fighters. About a mile away over Dungeness I saw a formation of about forty Hurricanes on patrol at 20,000 feet. Feeling that there was safety in numbers, I set off in their direction. When about 200 yards from the rear machine, I looked down and saw, 5,000 feet below, another formation of fifty machines flying in the same direction. Flying stepped up like this was an old trick of the Huns, and I was glad to see we were adopting the same tactics. But as though hit by a douche of cold water, I suddenly woke up. There were far more machines flying together than we could ever possibly muster over one spot. I took another look at the rear machine in my formation, and sure enough, there was the Swastika on its tail. Yet they all seemed quite oblivious of my presence. I had the sun behind me and a glorious opportunity. Closing in to 150 yards I let go a three-second burst into the rear machine. It flicked onto its back and spun out of sight. Feeling like an irresponsible schoolboy who has perpetrated some crime which must inevitably be found out, I glanced around me. Still nobody seemed disturbed. I suppose I could have repeated the performance on the next machine, but I felt that it was inadvisable to tempt Providence too far. So I did a quick half-roll and made off home, where I found to my irritation that Peters, as usual, had three planes down to my one.

There was to be a concert that night, but as I had to be up at five the next morning for dawn patrol, I had a quick dinner and two beers and went to bed feeling not unsatisfied with the day.

FLIGHT LIEUTENANT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A New Learned Society

THE CHIEF CONTRIBUTION of the American academic world toward the defeat of fascism this last year has been the signing of large advertisements calling upon the President to act; the chief beneficiary has been the new-business department of The New York Times. This is said with clear derogatory intent. If I were a large university, I would instantly organize a new Department of National Defense; if I were twenty distinguished economists, I would band myself together into a new American Association of Political and Economic Warfare, issuing a monthly publication, called the Annals, which would first amuse, then distress and finally undermine the Department of State as now constituted.

One trouble with the academic world is that while it endorses democracy and, in fact, dotes upon it, it hates those noble uproars which constitute democracy in action. The average professor who speaks of the need for protecting academic freedom is, more often than not, speaking of the need for defending his own job. It is a travesty on democracy to summon the people to defend academic freedom; academic freedom ought to defend the people, else it has no function. Our wan version of collegiate democracy has been popularized by Hitler's persecution of the professors; the mistreated savant has become a symbol of martyrdom, and audiences weep at his story—look, he knows so much algebra, and they're killing him. If he knows so much algebra, why didn't he figure out a way to stop Hitler?

Our large university population is still relatively unignited; a rather self-conscious jewel of our culture, announcing ominously that if we allow it to be destroyed, we are finished. What if it allows us to be destroyed? Surely there must be economists in the United States who could answer the question: Granted the greatest oil reserves in the world, what can we do with them to hurt fascism most? Our State Department, which has yet to score its first success against fascism anywhere in the world, has been thinking, and has reached the conclusion that the most subtle use of our oil on behalf of democracy is to make it available to Vichy and to Japan. It smears General Weygand with 16,000 tons of this material, to the visible distress of Prime Minister Churchill, and it sends 50 percent more of oil and gasoline to Japan than before that country joined the Axis; a special bonus for bad behavior. By these actions, the State Department declares its disbelief that France has been conquered and that Japan has joined with Hitler; the more Pétain and Konoye protest their fidelity to the Führer, the more entranced becomes the Department's infatuated smile. When signs of grief arise among our people because of these oil shipments, our government officials solve the problem by clapping a secrecy order on these exports, "to keep information from the enemy." Since the enemy receives the actual oil, and presumably knows how to count, it is deprived of no information; only the American people are deprived of it. Are they the enemy?

The academic world has not concerned itself with this stumblebum use of our resources, and this sin of omission has drawn retribution. The Department of Commerce order of six weeks ago, making a state secret of the exact nature of all our exports and imports, is a profound blow at academic freedom. It makes it impossible for our faculties intelligently to discuss our trade with Latin America, or with England, or with the Axis powers, and thereby it reduces these faculties to babbling impotence. No figures are available beyond March; up to the month of March, 1941, the faculties are experts, beyond that point they are now ignoramuses. This is a true loss of academic freedom, beside which the chivvying of an individual professor by an arrogant proxy is comparatively unimportant; this is loss of freedom wholesale, subtle alteration of the academic status in America, relegation of the entire group to a lesser place. They have nothing left but their jobs. The government thinkers have now taken monopoly of the facts, and the private experts, who did not use their franchise, have thereby lost it. I am not unmindful of brilliant and even impassioned work against fascism by individual academicians; the point is that they have given us no democratic counterpoise to the sinister black professors of fascism, the Haushofers who help Hitler to make a vast military machine out of a surplus of potatoes and a shortage of rubber.

Democratic Haushofers have to appoint themselves to the task; they have to win their places by their own outcries; they have to establish their authority by the competence with which they assume the job of planning the best pro-democratic management of that complex of iron and oil, men and wheat, tools and trains, which is America. Just as Indusco and guerrilla warfare had to be forced on the Chinese government by independent minds, so there are dispositions of our own resources which have to be tested in private thought and then pressed upon authority. A new body of learning waits to be created. Fame has dusted out a number of vacant niches, to be filled by those private experts who will first assume their democratic duty of challenging the armchair generals and the diplomatic marplots, who now use our resources like a sack of small corn for bribing evil birds. One waits for the first sign of that great internal debate on how to marshal our strength against fascism, which will also be the first sign that our democracy has found its voice, and is calling with a clear cry to the future. SAMUEL GRAFTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

Seniority and Senator Tydings

SOME THOUGHT IT LAUGHABLE when the rigid seniority rule of the United States Senate elevated clownish Senator Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina to the chairmanship of the Military Affairs Committee. Others, lacking appreciation for nonsense, thought it tragic. Whatever anybody thought, Der Führer of a native fascist organization known as The Vindicators was entrusted with the grim responsibility of handling defense legislation in the Senate. It was enough for the Senate that he was next in line for the job. Up to now, Chairman Reynolds has not got, or at least has not seemed to get, in the way of the national-defense effort in spite of his isolationist convictions. Indeed, he is so enthusiastic about riding around in combat cars for the benefit of news photographers that the army is finding him a helpful publicity agent.

Now the seniority rule is about to play a trick that almost no one will find funny. Due to vacancies created by the death of Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi and the appointment of Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina to the Supreme Court, chairmanships of the Audit and Control and Finance Committees must be reassigned. Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland is ranking member of Audit and Control. Senator Walter George of Georgia, now chairman of Foreign Relations, is heir-apparent to the Finance chairmanship. If George passes up Finance to keep his present committee, he will surrender his finance claim to Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, now chairman of Naval Affairs. If Walsh takes Finance, Tydings stands to succeed him as chairman of Naval Affairs. It all adds up to the possibility that Tydings will head both Audit and Control and Naval Affairs.

One must be almost as insensitive as Tydings himself to find anything amusing in this prospect. Arthur Krock of The New York Times, to be sure, finds it possible to smile about it in print. He points out that the chairman of Audit and Control holds the purse strings of the Senate and decides who shall investigate what and therefore occupies a position of enormous influence, since Senators depend largely upon investigations for their publicity. Also that Byrnes used the Audit and Control chairmanship to advantage as an instrumentality of leadership. In all this Krock is correct but he matches Tydings' cynicism when he adds that Tydings is "a Senator of great influence, highly respected by his colleagues."

The fact is that Tydings' colleagues are beginning to find out what the unctuous Senator from Maryland is all about. They well demonstrated what they thought of him during his campaign to block the confirmation of former Attorney General Robert H. Jackson for the Supreme Court. Tydings let fly at Jackson twice—once before the Senate Judiciary Committee and once on the floor—two squirts of venom from a water pistol. The committee voted unanimously to ignore his protest and recommend Jackson's confirmation. In the Senate there was one dissenting vote—Tydings' own.

Tydings' complaint against Jackson was a fairly good measure of the Senator. His story was this: Some time ago Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, Washington columnists, stated in a broadcast that Tydings had put the WPA to work building a road and yacht basin on his property. The WPA had indeed built a road leading to his country estate and a yacht basin adjacent to his home in Havre de Grace, Maryland. But neither the road nor the yacht basin was actually on his property. Therefore he had been libeled. But he did not want to sue Pearson and Allen for damages and he therefore proposed that the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia obtain an indictment against them on a charge of criminal libel, invoking a statute which has not been used since 1901, when the government proceeded against The New York World on behalf of Theodore Roosevelt. Jackson refused to condone the criminal-libel proceeding and thus demonstrated his unfitness for a place on the Supreme Court to Tydings' complete satisfaction.

Jackson of course replied that Tydings' demand, if complied with, would strike at the right of freedom of the press. He pointed out, moreover, that an FBI report showed that the WPA projects did in fact enhance the value of Tydings' property and that a jury, under the circumstances, doubtless would refuse to convict. Yet, hiding behind his cloak of immunity, Tydings had a lot to say about the "rats" who exposed what he had done.

Tydings' use of the power and prestige of his office as a come-on for the law business of his Baltimore firm, Tydings, Sauerwein, Levy and Archer, has become a matter of wide public comment. There is a broad, clear statute making it a crime for a Senator to represent a private client in a case in which the government is directly or indirectly interested. The statute has been upheld by the Supreme Court. Yet Tydings in several well authenticated instances has used his influence unofficially on behalf of private clients in government cases.

More important, however, in view of the probability that Tydings will head up two important committees, is his record of sniping at the administration. He can be counted upon to use his chairmanships as nests for the same activity. At a time like this, he could do a lot of damage.

The meeting of CIO officials held here last week indicated, if it indicated anything, that John L. Lewis is planning a come-back as nominal as well as actual head of the CIO. What his chances are will probably be more accurately measured at the meeting of the CIO board, scheduled for July 17. Lewis got away with his tirade against President Roosevelt and Sidney Hillman last time because there was unanimous agreement on the only question formally presented to the meeting—whether anti-labor legislation then pending in Congress should be opposed.

The almost two-to-one defeat of the May bill showed what the CIO and the AFL can do when they combine lobbying forces at the capitol. Significantly, there was a heavy Republican vote against the legislation. Republican leaders privately explained that the President almost certainly will have to clamp down on labor before the national-defense program is completed and they want to put the GOP in a position to capitalize on labor's resentment.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Just for Laughs

MOVIE COMEDY seems not to get any less shrill and forced or any more original than the usual run of expensive and tired A pictures; but there is one of the new batch that will pass, "The Bride Came COD." It is an old theme and too often handled as though it were, but it has some merry and natural twists, an unusually witty script for dialogue, and a well filled cast.

The idea is that a rich and foolish girl shall be prevented from marrying a dope against her father's wishes by the scheming of a barnstorming pilot, who is in this purely for the money to save his plane from the Shylocks. On the way to deliver the girl to her father, and no more than a jump ahead of the pursuit elements, the pilot has to make a crash landing in the desert. You can guess the outcome from there, though there are times when it seems as if the writers weren't going to; but that's the way stories are. There is probably nothing more difficult than the business of making business, of having your natural story obstacles all naturally overcome and then keeping on with fake obstacles to fill out the time or full gambit of picture tricks. There are many elements to comedy, but they do not fall into their rightful place unless the whole thing either has its proper framework of meaning, however trivial, or is the product of some irresistible and joyous zest.

The Epstein brothers wrote this picture, and since they are one of the brightest teams in Hollywood, you can be assured of a high level in both lines and byplay—the allusion with an edge to it, the absurd situation arising as a matter of fact. (The whole business of the lone hotel-keeper in the deserted boom town is not only neat as an idea, whosever it was, but sustained in the plot by urbane treatment.) William Keighley's direction seems to be on the routine-comedy side, having some disregard for understatement and for when enough is enough, so that when a girl falls into a bed of cactus—which she does twice as much as is seemly—she has to loll in it like a bathtub. Such overdone and blatant misfortune always draws the kind of guffaw which arises as a sort of nervous reaction; I hardly believe it is true laughter. Still, in things like reporters milling around or many people gathered and talking, there is a very nice sense not only of confusion but of its necessary parts and the humor in their truth to life. This can be got by direction and nothing else, as it cannot be written, it cannot be managed by any one actor, or any three.

It is not one of James Cagney's best rounded parts, but he does what is there for him with his usual vitality and grace. Bette Davis as the spoiled girl is having fun for a change; she is not sure enough in comedy to do the best that could be done, but she plays intelligently and with wit, and it makes a nice interlude for all of us. The feature and support players are the outstanding thing, if only for the number of good ones: Eugene Pallette, Stuart Erwin, Jack Carson; George Tobias, Harry Davenport, William Frawley, Ed Brophy (not enough of these last two); Harry Holman and a half-dozen other good faces. It is the best comedy group in a long time, and collectively it serves to cover up discrepancies that might have seemed rather dreadful in other hands. Discrepancies in any event are only the difference between what it is and what it could be, and what it is makes good enough fun for any summer evening.

I am sometimes discouraged by the magic of names which have nothing to do with movies in the reception of a picture, as though the mere fact of being able to read could set people up like a roost of hens in the middle of the night. Comes a picture called "Tight Shoes," obviously a B product whipped up out of leftovers, directed as though all subtlety and clear talent slept. John Howard and Binnie Barnes are the nominal leads; Broderick Crawford has and does the best acting part; Albert Rogell directed. The script by Leonard Spigelgass and Art Arthur has some laugh lines in the tradition of low life in New York City. Otherwise, what have you got? There are a lot of falls, breakaways, slugging and overslugging to tickle the hoarse-voiced element; but the story and the names employed on it are such that it would have to sneak up on you out of a neighborhood double bill, ordinarily.

The movies know their trade in one way, however. The picture was made from a Damon Runyon original (and along its way from several other originals not credited, apparently); and so it is put out as a Damon Runyon picture. Name. And so in two out of three newspaper and magazine references you will find it obediently mentioned as Damon Runyon's "Tight Shoes," and reviewed as something therefore rather snappy. Runyon of course had nothing to do with it as a picture, and Runyon-Schmunyon it is a noisy, ill begotten and embarrassing bore. That's nothing against any B picture, of course, but they *bury* dead fish, don't they?

OTIS FERGUSON

In "They Met in Bombay" the dialogue is heavy, the pace slow and the story as familiar as a yawn: beautiful lady thief and handsome gentleman thief, both after the same necklace, meet and love in romantic Bombay. Clark Gable chews his dimples and Rosalind Russell wears crazy hats and that takes care of the acting, except for a few good minutes of Peter Lorre as a doubtful-dealing sea captain. To make it strictly 1941, Gable fights in the British army by mistake, wins the Victoria Cross for heroism and goes straight. Credit goes to Clarence Brown who directed it for MGM, and Edwin Justus Mayer, Anita Loos and Leon Gordon for the screen-play based on a story by Hans Kafka. If any credit is still due.

M. B.

Be Kind to Animals Only. – About the strike in the Disney cartoon studios we hear strangely little. Willie Bioff seems to have taken his very appropriate name and some of his handsome lads in on the side of the good Walter. Washington is reported as keeping an eye on the strike for possibilities of mediation. An item buried here, a hint in a trade paper there, while those who serve their public tell you who was in Ciro's saying which at a thousand words a shot. A fellow writes me a letter saying that things still go on, however. That even if Disney didn't hate unions he couldn't forgive the fact that a striking leader is a renegade from the Disney bosom and was once (innocently) hand-picked to organize the company union at the happy home. That the major studios don't want strikes to win anywhere, particularly with the industry's fair-haired Fantasist. That the Hollywood guilds are behind the strikers; that an anti-Bioff trade reporter may go far enough to blow the lid off yet. From your favorite reporters, no news—except your dog died and his name may well be Playful Pluto.

O. F.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bandwagon

Soviet Russia and Anglo-Saxon "plutocracy" received joint blame today for the fashion of women wearing pants—recently banned in Italy.

"This is just another example of one of the many points in common between communism and plutocracy," Count Galeazzo Ciano said. – *UP dispatch from Rome in The New York World-Telegram.*

"I'm not going to put up with any social equality in the university system of the state schools," Governor Eugene Talmadge said. – *AP dispatch from Atlanta printed in The San Francisco Chronicle.*

Although Brenda's been the most petted social darling of a decade, her democratic disposition was never better displayed than when she asked that Neilson, butler of her mother's close friend, Mrs. Charles Clark, should announce the guests [at her wedding]. – *From Barclay Beekman's society column in The New York Daily Mirror.*

A photograph reproduced on page 5 of the picture section of this morning's Tribune tells a story the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. The photograph shows Crown Princess Juliana of the Netherlands bending the knee in greeting to Mrs. Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt is obviously enjoying the experience. Evidently those in the White House take great satisfaction in having a deferential royalty around, for hardly a week goes by without a visit from one or another of the crowned heads. That is one reason, and in our judgment a most important one, for the determination of the White House to put the United States in the war. The Roosevelts like to associate with royalty. – *Editorial in The Chicago Tribune.*

Play, Gypsy!

For Sale—Piano, By woman with Split-Mahogany legs and sides of Fir. Box 259, Gary, South Dakota. – *Advertisement in The Gary [S. D.] Inter State.*

And Both Eat Germans?

Married couple, carnivorous, wanted. Man help on farm, wife run modern house. W. B. Tobey, Middletown, Chivelstone, Kingsbridge. – *Advertisement in The New Statesman and Nation (London).*

Total-War Department

Colonel Otto Lange of Camp Wolters explains: "Soldiers might stray apart, particularly at night. The army has found out the best way to bring them together is to fry liberal quantities of onions and hamburger and let the aroma ferret out the men." – *UP dispatch from Fort Worth, Texas, in The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Energy for Democracy

SIR: In this power age of ours we cannot hope to become an arsenal of the democracies unless we reconsider our entire energy-economic policy.

To produce plenty, either of munitions or of consumer goods, it is not enough to have adequate man-power (brain-power included), natural deposits and productive equipment. These must be coördinated, and the machinery must be driven by power. In order to "outreach Germany," Leland Olds of the Federal Power Commission said, "we must meet or exceed Germany's power output, because electric power is the essence of the production of defense materials." It is estimated that we need an additional 20,000,000 kilowatt hours of energy. But this is only a small section of the problem as a whole. Three or four days of coal miners' work will furnish the driving power for this additional generating capacity.

The problem as a whole involves all our energy sources—coal, oil, natural gas and hydroelectric plants.

Mr. Ickes foresees possible "gasolineless days." Why? Because of a scarcity of petroleum. Yet we can produce gasoline and fuel oil from coal, the deposits of which are abundant and would last us from three to six thousand years. Germany produced some 700,000,000 gallons of gasoline from her poor-grade coals at the beginning of the war. England likewise produced some 50,000,000 gallons of gasoline by hydrogenation or liquefaction of coal. We in the United States produced a few pints of it at a laboratory in Pittsburgh.

Are we going to duplicate our senseless rapaciousness in the field of fuel economy as we did in deforesting the land, in deep plowing of prairies, and by other flood and desert-producing follies?

Just to build a few more power plants or to invoke onerous restrictions on gasoline consumption does not solve the problem. It merely evades the issue.

The solution of the problem is obvious. Our coal deposits are abundant; our oil and natural-gas reserves are scarce. Coal can readily be converted into either liquid or gaseous fuels as need be by liquefaction or carbonization processes. If we would stop complaining we could soon build and operate the requisite coal by-product plants. Don't whine over the shortage of cars or tankers—both forms of coal by-products can be piped from the mines to any part of our continent. The coal remaining from distillation should be used at the mouth of the mines under the boilers to generate electric power and transmit it in bulkless form over the grid of wires. If this requires condensing water for turbines, then build the water reservoirs near coal mines, as proposed for southern Illinois.

But what about the nearly extinct petroleum and natural gas? The answer is obvious: During the transition period use it as sparingly as possible and only in the equipment that cannot be operated otherwise, such as internal-combustion motors and navy vessels. The anthracite industry meanwhile can release 100,000,000 barrels of oil and 5,000,000 tons of coke now used for domestic heating by increasing its output to 77,000,000 tons per year.

Then, as the new hydrogenation, liquefaction and carbonization coal plants are gradually put into operation, and a shortage is avoided, the remaining reserves of petroleum should be assigned chiefly to the production of lubricants essential for high-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speed machinery and partially to indispensable uses such as motor fuel and illuminants. Natural gas, likewise, should be allocated primarily to the manufacture of lampblack, an essential ingredient of the rubber industry, pigments, etc., and the rest to be devoted to recirculation in oil wells to increase their yield of petroleum, as neither air pressure nor water pressure can as well force the oil up from underground strata.

Hyroelectric plants, on the other hand, cannot be built and put into operation as rapidly as the coal by-product and liquefaction plants. Therefore, their usefulness in case of emergency may be discounted, especially considering the recurring shortage of water, as at present, making it necessary to curtail the electric consumption of the TVA by some 25 percent.

A rational, unified, multiple-production energy program is imperative if defense activities and future economy are to be taken seriously.

WALTER N. POLAKOV

Washington, D. C.

Anti-Alien Bill Vetoed

SIR: In regard to your editorial, "Illinois Strikes at the Refugees" (The New Republic, June 23), I am glad to tell you that the whole series of state bills barring aliens from twelve professions has been vetoed by Governor Green. As the vetoes came shortly before the end of the regular session of the Illinois general assembly, and the sponsors did not enforce new votes, this anti-alien legislation has been indefinitely suspended.

ERNEST BRUCH, M.D.

Winnebago, Ill.

Labor and Defense

SIR: The Union for Democratic Action has worked out a brief statement of policy on labor and production to fit the present emergency:

We strongly urge that a limit be set on the discretion allowed local draft boards in decisions to reclassify defense workers participating in strikes. Unlimited use of the Selective Service Act as a strikebreaking weapon would result in a severe loss of labor gains throughout the country.

Strikes can be avoided: (1) If labor unions eliminate from their leadership all those who take an irresponsible attitude toward production, whether because they owe allegiance to a foreign government, or because they are merely defeatist; (2) If labor voluntarily outlaws strikes based upon jurisdictional disputes of any kind; (3) If government boards of mediation are so set up that the trade unions have full representation upon them; (4) If adequate machinery is set up to make necessary adjustments in wages in organized and unorganized industries to meet the rising cost of living; and if a determined effort is made by the government to *prevent* rising living costs; (5) If there is no interference, either from management or government, with efforts to form unions among unorganized workers in accordance with the law; (6) If all legislation to prohibit the right to strike is defeated.

Responsible labor leaders and the rank and file of labor are determined to get full production. But it must be noted that since last summer infinitely more production has been lost from the "business as usual" attitude of the administrators of industry than from strikes. There was a sitdown strike of corporations last summer, when they refused to take national-defense orders until they secured satisfactory amortization and taxation concessions from the government. Shortages of steel, aluminum, magnesium and electric power threaten defense production because monopoly interests refused to expand their capacity to produce. The refusal of monopoly corporations to subcontract defense orders among smaller enterprises is even now creating bottlenecks and making it impossible to get full use of our economic resources for defense.

Hence we ask that the President be granted the power to:

1. Seize any plant not doing its job for defense.
2. Seize needed machine tools now being withheld from defense work.
3. Force any enterprise sticking to civilian production for higher profits to go into defense work.
4. Seize strategic materials now being hoarded in many industries by "forward buying."

JAMES LOEB, Executive Secretary,
New York City Union for Democratic Action

Olive-Oil Scandal

SIR: With the foreign sources of olive oil closed, California olive growers are in a position to render themselves and the nation a great service if they see to it that their products are handled honestly. It has been reported that Milton P. Duffy, state food-and-drug inspector, has had a bill introduced into the California legislature to reduce from $500 to $25 the fine for adulterating olive oil without informing the consumer of the adulteration. If this is true, consumers everywhere should protest against such a travesty of public-health administration.

Chapel Hill, N. C. HARVEY LEBRUN

The Void in the Back Room

SIR: As an oldtime reader of The New Republic I feel much perturbed over the petty, sniping, wise-cracking review of Edmund Wilson's "The Boys in the Back Room" by Otis Ferguson (The New Republic, July 7). What irks Mr. Ferguson is Wilson's talent for generalization and his effort to relate contemporary writing to modern culture. Mr. Ferguson's only principle that I can discover is the French adage "all generalizations are false, including this one," which hardly qualifies him as a literary critic.

New York City HENRY MILLER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Wesley Taylor of New York City "heartily agrees with the program" outlined in "Action Now!" (The New Republic, June 16). . . . Mrs. M. R. S., also of New York City, asks that we no longer refer to Communists as "left-wing." "That is a decoration which a good many [non-Communist] Americans wear with pride and joy," she writes. "Your use of the term is an offense to true radicals."

L. J. Eddy, writing from the Antioch Conference in Baltimore, asks for more essays from Max Lerner. He particularly likes "Russia and the War of Ideas" (The New Republic, July 7). . . . V. D. M. also writes, from Vermont, to praise Mr. Lerner's essay. She says she liked our editorial "Create a Second Front!" in the July 7 issue, but takes issue with our "spanking the Party zigzag" and "sneering at Soviet communiqués." Broadcasters from England, she says, report that the Soviet communiqués "are getting a big hand in London. People call them spirited and detailed and say why can't the British government do as well."

William Makins, business manager of the British literary monthly Horizon, writes from 2 Lansdowne Terrace, W. C. 1, London, that only help from America will sustain the magazine in the face of "a very serious situation in our paper supply."

The American Civil Liberties Union criticizes the United States Post Office Department's recent practice of destroying tons of foreign literature on the theory that every publisher abroad desiring to use the United States mails must register with the State Department. The ACLU is supporting a bill, now in Congress, requiring that the publishers and place of origin be placed on all matter printed in the interests of a foreign government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contemporary Poetry Criticism

A POEM, TODAY, is both an esthetic object and a commodity. It is an unimportant commodity for which there is a weak and limited demand; it is produced, distributed and consumed like any other commodity. Poems are produced by a peculiar submarginal class, only a dozen or so of whom live by the sale of their products. They are distributed, as a relatively negligible sideline, by publishers. The consumers are a heterogeneous group; their demand is, for the most part, characterized by a somewhat apathetic and pious conventionality. A cynical observer might say that many of them have inherited from another age both their respect for and taste in poetry, and are afraid that if one is questioned the other will disappear. What this public likes (and buys) the publisher publishes. Some people—regular publishers, occasionally—are shocked at what the public does like, and publish unprofitably what it won't buy.

A commercial magazine or newspaper is a rather elaborate device for inducing people to read advertisements. Most present-day poetry criticism consists of reviews in such magazines and newspapers; if we disregard its function and the conditions of its production—both commercial—we must misunderstand it. Reviews are demanded by both publishers and public; publishers buy advertisements, the public buys magazines (and advertising rates vary with circulation): so an editor necessarily demands reviews that will satisfy publishers and public. (Here, let me emphasize, I am disregarding subsidized non-commercial magazines and magazines only secondarily supported by advertising; however, the criticism of these to some extent influences and is influenced by that of the commercial magazines and newspapers.)

From the publisher's point of view criticism is a quite important subspecies of advertising; reviews are free publicity, free testimonials. Good criticism is criticism that sells books. A good critic is a man who likes as much as possible as persuasively as possible. (Woollcott's pallbearers will all be publishers; and those tears will be real.) The publisher naturally advertises in magazines that print *good* criticism—naturally; so, naturally, an editor farms out his reviews to reliable producers of just such criticism: there is a process of natural selection going on all the time among reviewers. In heaven all reviews will be favorable; here on earth, the publisher realizes, plausibility demands an occasional bad one, some convincing lump in all that leaven, and he accepts it somewhat as a theologian accepts Evil. Newspapers sometimes print free news stories about their advertisers; reporters call such a story a Business Office Must. To the publisher reviews are a kind of Business Office Must.

The public—let me put it bluntly—the public wants a review to tell it what it is going to think of a book. The critic usually avoids the ambiguity of "You'll like this, you won't like that," and tactfully or ingenuously phrases his prediction: "This is a good book; that is a bad." The public likes the good, dislikes the bad, and is pleased with both its taste and the reviewer's. The reviewer preferably is someone who can be considered an expert: there is more prestige in agreeing with him, and he can speak with a knowledge and finality that will reassure the reader (that what he likes *is* art)—and since modern poetry is to the average reader, if not *terra incognita*, at least No Man's Land, he welcomes reassurance. But often the reviewer is not expert on any subject except Reviews: he derives his authority from his position, rather than the reverse. The reviewer, from the public's point of view, should be the Collective Me, a sort of hypostatized, apotheosized common denominator of public taste. (Many people—booksellers and librarians, for instance—have an actual commercial interest in the coincidence of the reviewer's taste and the public's.) The reviewer is like the juror, drawn by lot, who nevertheless takes on the authority and prestige of the People he represents. But all the reviewer's powers are delegated powers; if he tries to elevate the public taste, writes real criticism and consistently disagrees with the public, these powers are withdrawn, and he will be revealingly condemned for arbitrary dogmatism, the assumption of powers that are not his.

Reviews are codified in critical articles and anthologies; it is the nature of both to be approving, or to manifest their disapproval only negatively. Editors seldom print unfavorable articles on poets, so critics rarely write them. The anthologist has a vital financial interest in there being a large body of current poetry that can be called—that he can call—good. Poetry is always reviving today from yesterday's revival.

This is the system; but there is a good deal of play in it, precisely because the publishing of poetry is commercially such a negligible affair. Publishers are hardly vitally concerned; no one, so far as I know, makes a living by reviewing poetry. Another thing that makes the system more disapproving than it otherwise would be is that so much of the poetry of the last twenty years has been modernist poetry (often printed by non-commercial publishers) which the public dislikes, misunderstands and enjoys seeing condemned.

I have given a rather abstract analysis of the situation. Now I could go in for details, and tell you about the prominent reviewer Mr. B., who said, when Auden was first published here, that his six-year-old boy could write better poetry than Auden; or about the most prominent Mr. U., who says that Marianne Moore's poetry isn't poetry at all, but criticism; or about that inveterate reviewer Miss W., who has just published a textbook full of explanations of modern poetry—explanations that show she is quite incapable of understanding any modern poem of even the slightest difficulty. But it is like trying to define a haystack by drawing straws from it. And I am not interested in the individual depravity of reviewers; they are standardized, eminently replaceable parts of the machine: I suppose even for Louis Untermeyer a substitute could be found. I am afraid I have not exaggerated the situation; if for a few months the reader will look at the poetry reviews in The Times and The Herald Tribune, The Saturday Review, and other such places, he can see for himself. Such reviews are extraordinarily similar—that is because they are a technique not for pointing out but for obscuring differences; from the hands of most reviewers best and worse emerge with the same winning and vacant smile. In the dark all cats are gray.

Most of the criticism of any age is bad—for instance, who were the popular reviewers and critics of the year 1841? But today the only commercially practicable body of criticism is a bad one. Good criticism, which points out badness or mediocrity, and actually scares away buyers from most books, is something the publishers necessarily cannot tolerate. Good criticism, which is often involved or difficult, and which always tells the public not what it wants but what is good for it, is something the commercial public doesn't care for either. I am not condemning the body of criticism for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being as bad as it is, I am giving it a certificate of necessity: for it to be anything else is a commercial impossibility.

The poetry of the present is mostly written about by reviewers; that of the past is mostly written about by scholars: *i. e.*, English professors. Scholars produce scholarly articles, for which there is a great demand; the steady publication of quantities of scholarly articles will obtain for a person with the proper academic qualifications steadily increasing salaries. Consequently scholarly criticism is being produced in immense amounts. Unfortunately, most scholarly criticism is negligible as scholarship and worthless as criticism. Much of the performance is bad, of course, because the performers are incompetent or mediocre; but the real trouble is the nature of the performance.

During the last part of the nineteenth century the prestige that had formerly attended the methods and practitioners of literary, philosophical and theological wisdom was largely transferred to those of scientific knowledge. Professors of English tried to "cash in on" (Burke's phrase) this prestige by the naïve application of scientific quantitative methods to literature. They tried to make "English" a science, and they succeeded in making it a pseudo-science of the most forbidding variety, in amassing a gigantic rubbish-heap of facts about literature. (Of scholars, as of bees, the criterion is industry.) Criticism is necessarily based on very fine qualitative distinctions, the critic's responses to and judgments about works of art; the discipline that neglects and condemns these as subjective, unreliable, impressionistic, that is satisfied only with the "objective reliability" of "facts" —such a discipline is absurd in theory and disastrous in practice, and can produce criticism of any value only in spite of itself. Some scholars have attained their ideal of perfect objectivity, and seem unwilling or even unable to make the slightest distinction between good, bad and mediocre—all are data for scholarship. Robert Graves was examined by such a professor, who gave him the considered reproof: "Mr. Graves, I believe you *prefer* some authors to others." Carl Becker has defined a professor as a man who thinks otherwise; a scholar is a man who otherwise thinks.

But, do what he will, feeling, taste, the subjectivity of judgment constantly do creep into the scholar's articles and teachings; not the trained and scrupulous taste, the reasoned critical judgment of the expert, but the unexamined conventions, prejudices and idiosyncrasies that the scholar has acquired at random in the course of his career of facts. His taste in poetry is, very slightly modified, the academic late-Victorian taste of his high-school and college teachers. The last twenty-five years have seen part of a great change in taste, a revaluation of most English poetry—I do not believe there is a good critic living who shares the taste of the scholars. So the scholar, who already looks down on the critic in theory, is able in practice to condemn him, even more severely and sincerely, for the immense disparity in all their judgments. Today there is not merely a division between scholars and critics, but open war; and since scholars are a thousand to one, and occupy every important position in the colleges, there is not much hope for the critic.

I hope the summary quality of this account has not antagonized the reader; I do not question the value of scholarship. But most scholarship is a means, and when it is exalted into an end—as it is today—the real end of scholarship is defeated. Our universities should produce good criticism; they do not—or, at best, they do so only as federal prisons produce counterfeit money: a few hardened prisoners are more or less surreptitiously continuing their real vocations.

I might have taken as a motto for this essay, "If a way there be to the Better, it exacts a full look at the Worse." Now I have come to the Better—the Best, even: I do not believe there has been another age in which so much extraordinarily good criticism of poetry has been written. (Incidentally, it is usually printed in non-commercial magazines and often published by non-commercial publishers.) Too much of the criticism of the past seems to us morals or biography or information—anything but criticism. Modern criticism of poetry, at its best, is relatively pure; it is really concerned, as it should be, with understanding (in the most active and comprehensive sense) and evaluating poetry. This criticism has been extremely catholic and extremely acute; there has been no analysis too complicated, delicate or surprising for these critics to undertake. Modern criticism has accomplished a change in taste, a critical revolution, even greater than the change in poetic performance which modernist poets have effected. I myself believe that modernist poetry is essentially an extension of romanticism (with a few neo-classic elements *à la* Stravinsky), and that along with great virtues it exhibits many of the vices of romanticism in their most exaggerated form. This certainly could not be said of modern criticism, which has repudiated romanticism so wholeheartedly that many critics condemn in their criticism the vices that they exploit in their poetry. This criticism has helped us understand and value modernist poetry—which academic criticism simply rejected—but its work with the poetry of the past has been even more important: it has resurrected or defended dozens of poets whom academic criticism had discarded or disgracefully undervalued. One immediately thinks of Donne, Webster, Raleigh, Jonson, Wyatt, Fulke Greville, Herbert, Marvell, Hopkins, and those poets who Matthew Arnold said were not poets at all: Dryden and Pope. And modern criticism has reëxamined, carefully and often damningly, many of the Victorians and Romantics whom academic criticism so uncritically received and exalted. It is only by connecting the past with the present, by examining the past in the light of the present, that we can really either understand or value the past; academic and scholarly criticism have failed because they have not done this. After knowing the best modern criticism one reads more poetry and reads it better: English poetry is, one sees, more varied, complicated and astonishing than anybody had thought.

I have been speaking of such critics as William Empson, T. S. Eliot, R. P. Blackmur, Allen Tate, Yvor Winters, John Crowe Ransom, I. A. Richards, Morton Dauwen Zabel, Cleanth Brooks, Robert Penn Warren, Delmore Schwartz and five or six others. They have written a good many books, almost any of which is worth reading; their criticism is often printed in such magazines as The Southern Review, The Kenyon Review and Partisan Review. I do not mean to be saying, "Here they are—all perfect!" They are highly imperfect; the reader and I will probably agree that we would not be caught dead saying some of the things they say; but, all in all, they are about as good as we can find—and better than we deserve.

This criticism is not better known for several reasons. Much of it has been published recently and rather obscurely. It is *hard* criticism, of unusual depth and complication, written—one might almost say—by critics for critics. It

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

makes great demands of its readers in more than one way: its characteristic complication of surface, its self-conscious employment of so much knowledge, sensitivity and superiority may dishearten or antagonize the reader. Another deterrent is the political and social position of the majority of these writers. It is an odd fact that most good criticism of poetry today is being written by critics who can only be called—who call themselves—reactionary. (The best leftist critics of poetry, men like Edmund Wilson and Kenneth Burke, have gone over almost entirely into general criticism.) But neglecting criticism because we are annoyed at the critic's politics (or tone or style or anything else) is a fool's game; if we can learn nothing at all from his political views—that is unlikely, but possible—we can simply disregard them, and have that much more time for the criticism. As readers of criticism, we must allow ourselves to be disheartened or antagonized by nothing but bad criticism.

Personally, I believe that it would be profitable for critics to show less concern with poets, periods, society (big-scale extensive criticism), and more concern with the poems themselves (intensive criticism). In extensive criticism the data on which the critic bases his judgments are necessarily not given. The critic says that A's poetry is such-and-such because of the influence of So-and-so on the age; you summon your memories, clear or vague, of a few dozen of A's poems—the right ones, you hope—and after comparing these with your memories of So-and-so and the age, you make up your mind about the critic's remark. Your need and understanding of the remark vary inversely. In intensive criticism, the analysis of specific poems, what the critic says and exactly what he is saying it about are both there: the criticism is ideally accessible. Nothing would have more value for criticism than the existence of a few hundred or thousand detailed critical analyses, done by first-rate critics, of important English poems—*important* includes both good and bad. Good criticism is based on very good reading: unless we can do the same sort of reading the critic does we cannot even understand his judgments, much less accept or reject them. These intensive critical analyses at once convict and improve our own reading—there is no way in which we can learn so much about poetry so quickly and surely. I know plenty of critics who agree with me about such analyses; why aren't they being written? Because there are one or two magazines in the world that occasionally print such analyses; because no publisher has ever published a book of them. The critic not only can't make his living by them; he can't even get them printed.

We have a good many critics who are perfectly capable, under favorable conditions, of producing a large amount of extremely valuable criticism of poetry; they are, instead, producing a small amount under quite unfavorable conditions. All through this article, with shy persistence, I have kept recurring to the topic of money. This is an incongruous subject for a critic—what does he know about money? Only what everybody else knows: that he must get some somehow; by writing criticism if that is possible, by doing something else if that is not. People who are interested in criticism can do something for it in two ways: by being good critics or by encouraging good critics. *Encouraging* means buying or publishing their books, running magazines for them, giving them fellowships, hiring them in universities: it is a mercenary word.

RANDALL JARRELL

Books in Review

Reason and Revolution

DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR one of the ways in which some Anglo-American philosophers did their bit was to charge that German philosophy had furnished the premises of Imperial national thought. These explanations, which usually made Fichte, Hegel and Nietzsche the arch-villains, were more ingenious than convincing. They were happily forgotten during the days of the Weimar Republic, under whose benevolent aegis the old German philosophical traditions continued to thrive together with cultural products that were not so harmless.

There are signs that we may witness once more attempted proofs that this or that figure from the gallery of German philosophy was a forerunner of National Socialism. In politics it is easier to invent an ancestry than in mail-order genealogy. All one need do is to emphasize a certain facet of a man's thought, blink or burke others, show that his high-order abstractions are not incompatible with the pronouncements of the leader on concrete issues, and presto!—a predecessor becomes a precursor.

[1] Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory, by Herbert Marcuse. New York: Oxford University Press. 443 pages. $3.75.

In respect to National Socialism the whole procedure is a great waste. It not only betrays methodological naïveté before the thorny questions of philosophical influence but an ignorance of the nature of National Socialism. For the latter has no systematic philosophy in any traditional sense. Nor does it need one. It will use any philosophy to justify its actions and discard it when new occasions arise. It employs ideas as it does individuals—to extend and solidify the power of the ruling gang in a literate community. If the Nazis thought it would help them in their "peace" offensive against the United States, their professors would demonstrate that "Mein Kampf" was a dialectical development of the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, just as they sought some years ago to prove that their anti-Semitism had been anticipated by Benjamin Franklin in a document they forged for the purpose.

Mr. Marcuse's book is a kind of apologetic defense, before the event, against the charge that Hegel was a forerunner of fascism. Not satisfied merely with vindicating Hegel's philosophic honor against detractors, he insists that Hegel was in reality an anti-fascist, despite himself an advanced liberal even in his political and social thought, whose heritage was realized by Marx. He quotes with approval the words of Carl Schmitt, "the one serious political theorist of National Socialism," who wrote, "Hegel wandered

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from Karl Marx to Lenin and to Moscow," and who proclaimed, on the day Hitler came to power, "Hegel, so to speak, died."

There is precisely as much truth in Mr. Marcuse's thesis as in its contrary. And it has had the same baneful consequence upon his interpretation of Hegel's meaning. What might have been a wholly useful work is a *Tendenzschrift.* The first part of the book is an exposition of Hegel's philosophy; the second an account of its influence on men like Feuerbach, Kierkegaard, Marx, and of the reactions it provoked among the "positivists"—a catch-all term for thinkers as far apart as Comte, Stahl and contemporary positivists. The chief weakness of Mr. Marcuse's exposition is that it will be intelligible in the main only to the professional student, who will prefer to struggle with the original text. To other readers the exposition will seem opaque. In too many places Mr. Marcuse repeats Hegel without explaining him. For example, in his chapter on Hegel's "Logic" he nowhere makes clear the relation between dialectical method and scientific method, or illumines the significance of the basic terms, or answers the difficulties that Hegel's dynamic logic confronts.

Mr. Marcuse's interpretations are much clearer than his exposition. They seem to me, however, to be highly dubious and on basic questions definitely wrong. He regards Hegel's philosophy, by and large, as an expression in thought of the French Revolution, whereas, in intent and major consequence, it was a systematic reply to the fundamental ideas of both the Enlightenment and the Revolution, their methods of analysis, their standards of evaluation. He does not properly allow for the dominant role which Hegel's nationalism plays in his system, down to the very inconsistencies in the philosophy of history. What is worse, he tries to explain away the reactionary preface to Hegel's "Philosophy of Law" on the ground that the democratic opponents of the Restoration, like Fries, against whom Hegel hurled denunciations more befitting a policeman than a philosopher, were proto-fascists. "It is not difficult," writes Mr. Marcuse after giving a highly edited summary of the views of Fries and his followers, "to recognize in their 'democratic' slogans the ideology of the Fascist *Volksgemeinschaft.*" The proper evaluation of Hegel's preface would blow Mr. Marcuse's thesis sky high and show that his aspersions upon Fries are as unfair as they are irrelevant.

Mr. Marcuse's interpretations are no less wide of the mark when he comes down to the periods following Hegel. According to him, Hegel's "liberalism" provoked the counter-revolutionary philosophic doctrines of positivism, which in turn gave rise to modern sociology. Among these positivists Mr. Marcuse lists not only thinkers like St. Simon and Comte but the black reactionary Stahl and connects their basic approach with that of contemporary positivism. This is the nearest thing to a political amalgam that has appeared in a book on philosophy. The least common denominator of this inclusive positivism is apparently the refusal to accept the idealist principle "that the matters of fact or experience have to be justified before the court of reason." The refusal to accept this principle means to Mr. Marcuse either accommodation to the status quo or mere reformism. To link Comte, the continuator of the French Enlightenment, with Stahl, who would have liked to be its executioner, is arbitrary enough. But more arbitrary are the social positions which Mr. Marcuse allegedly derives from the denial of the idealist principle. It shows that he does not come within hailing distance of understanding positivism. Positivism in social thought does not take its point of departure from ready-made facts but seeks to discover by scientific, not dialectical, methods what the facts are. It is only by testing our ideals and principles by available facts that we can tell whether our choice of them has been intelligent. As for Mr. Marcuse's dissatisfaction with positivist reformism, "reform" is just as much an ideal as "revolution," and positivists can be and have been revolutionists just as dialecticians can be and have been reformists, and even stand-patters.

The irony of the situation is that on Mr. Marcuse's own formulation of the idealistic principle, the use of the ambiguous term Reason makes it easy to sanctify the status quo. And of all idealistic philosophies, the Hegelian lends itself best for purposes of obscurantist justification. All we need to recall here is that Hegel's "court of reason," when issues are at stake, is the brute fact of history. *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht!* Whoever wins, is right. From Mr. Marcuse's own conception of positivism, Hegel is more of a positivist than his opponents. Space does not permit an analysis of another weasel dictum of Hegel's about the identity of the real and the rational which he employed to run with the hares (only when it was safe) and to hunt with the hounds.

There is one connection between Hegel and National Socialism of far-reaching significance. It is not a unique connection, because it holds for National Bolshevism, too. Hegel developed the first systematic technique for taking over the phrases and slogans of democratic movements and filling them with completely opposite content. Reason, which the Enlightenment understood as critical intelligence, is interpreted by Hegel as historical survival. Freedom of personal development becomes in Hegel subordination to authority. Debasing the coinage of the mind has worse consequences than debasing currency. It was Hegel who provided the best object lesson in procedure to those German and Russian apologists who spoke of their respective cultures as "a democracy in a higher sense." But this is a theme for independent development.

SIDNEY HOOK

Local Color

Charles Egbert Craddock (Mary Noailles Murfree), by Edd Winfield Parks. University of North Carolina Press. 258 pages. $2.50.

ONE OF the pioneer American local colorists, Mary N. Murfree deserves to be better, but not much better, known: she painted in strong pigments her few but picturesque types against a minutely observed background of the Tennessee mountains. In this study of her, Professor Parks tries to enliven the woodenness of the usual dissertation-style biography (for which any biographical bone, no matter how dry, is treasure-trove) by pouring over his earlier pages a syrup of moonlight-and-honeysuckle, lavender-and-old-lace atmosphere of the Old South. His judgment, however, of her quite genuine though modest talent is good; it would have been better still had he boiled it down to half the space.

EDGAR JOHNSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pacific Relations

Japan Since 1931, by Hugh Borton. 149 pages. $1.25.
The Struggle for North China, by George E. Taylor. 250 pages. $2.
Italy's Interests and Policies in the Far East, by Frank M. Tamagna. 91 pages. $1.
Canada and the Far East—1940, by A. R. M. Lower. 152 pages. $1.25.
All published by International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York.

SIXTEEN VOLUMES of the Institute of Pacific Relations' "Inquiry Series" dealing with the "problems arising from the conflict in the Far East" have now been published. The four listed above are among the latest issued. A remarkably high standard of excellence is being maintained by the editors of this vast undertaking and the appearance of a book in the series should, by now, be a sufficient recommendation of it.

Professor Borton's contribution deals with the organization of Japan for war, a task which has been going on at an accelerated pace for ten years. The upshot has been the development to an extreme degree of the bias toward oligarchical absolutism which Professor Borton insists is a basic characteristic of the Japanese Constitution. In effect, the Japanese leaders have selected for elaboration those elements of the Japanese tradition which have fitted in best with their program of conquest. They have not, it appears, introduced fascist notions from abroad to any marked degree and if the result has a fascist cast, that is because tyranny wears much the same guise wherever it appears. With justice it can be said that where Japanese solutions most closely approximate those of western nations, the reason is that the problems of organizing a people and economy for war are much the same no matter what the political and ideological context. It is on the level of organization for production that Japan has been most deeply influenced by the West.

The tragedy of Japan is that she found it so difficult to organize her economic life in any sensible fashion that power passed to the hands of the worst elements in the nation. Why she failed is a complex problem, but Professor Borton presents the materials for an explanation. In the domestic sphere the need quickly to accumulate capital for industrialization led to the systematic exploitation of the peasantry, creating agricultural problems which have never been solved. The accumulated capital passed by state policy into the hands of a minority, thus concentrating control over the economy to an astonishing degree. The workers from the farms did not move into industry at higher levels of income; rather, the standards of the farms determined the wages in industry. The domestic market did not expand so rapidly as productive power, and Japan invaded the world market for industrial products (mostly consumer goods) at a very early stage of her industrial revolution. Since wages played a large part in the cost of her goods, she could undercut Western competitors on a price basis, an advantage she reinforced by depreciating the yen. When she was forced out of markets by tariffs, quotas, etc., she had but two ways out: either she could redesign her domestic economy as a first step toward greater stability, or she could seek to relieve the pressure by going to war. She chose the latter alternative, for various reasons, including both tradition and the kind of control to which her industry was subject. Progressively, as Professor Borton shows, the war-makers have asserted their power over every phase of domestic life, including the control of industry, until today a superficial student might say that economic considerations are no longer operative. They are, but not in capitalist terms, as in the parallel case of Germany.

Professor Taylor's contribution is, in effect, a discussion of what happened to the country at the receiving end of Japan's war. He thinks that behind the ideological falseface, Japanese activities in China are motivated by economic considerations. He says that the focus of the Japanese-Chinese war is in North China. As he puts it, the Chinese war is a highly complicated affair. China entered the war at a time when she was engaged in a national struggle for liberation from the disabilities imposed upon her by the Western imperialist powers. Today she is resisting Japan as the latest imperialist aggressor and one which aspires to gain a tighter control over her destiny than any of the long line. Japan is trying to have it coming and going by alleging that she is freeing Asia from thralldom to the West, thus putting herself forward as a national liberator, and at the same time is attempting to monopolize all imperialist privileges. Therefore, Japan is not only fighting the Chinese, but also the Western powers; hence her pressure on the Concessions. To advance their interests, the Western powers must support China against Japan, not so much with the idea of preserving their privileges as to ensure that no single power (*i. e.*, Japan) wins a monopoly of privilege in China. The Western powers have little cause to hope that a victorious China will allow a return to *status quo ante bellum*, but they have a reasonable hope that she will, freed from unequal treaties, enter the community of nations as an independent trading power which, under Japanese domination, she certainly would not be. But in spite of this, Professor Taylor thinks that Japan might have won out had it not been for the unexpected upsurge of nationalism among the Chinese peasants. His book, therefore, is largely a discussion of why Japan has failed, not in terms of outside assistance to Chiang Kai-shek's government, but in terms of the strictly Chinese elements in the resistance, his story being confined to North China as the focus of the struggle. Incidentally, he shows that to turn the trick, those in charge have had to outrun the outlook of the Chungking group, hence the conflicts between Chungking and other Chinese centers of resistance to Japan.

Italy figures in this incredibly involved matter in a subsidiary role. Her material interests are small. Up to about 1935 the Italians felt it suited their book best to assist China in her campaign against the special privileges of the Western powers. After 1935 they acted on the theory that more was to be gained by helping Japan, with the hope that they would participate profitably through capital investment in whatever development might take place under Japanese control. In both cases the determining factor is the desire to strike blows at England and, more recently, the United States. Canada, on the other hand, is lined up with England and the United States. Her interests clearly dictate that line, as Professor Lower demonstrates in detail.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Incredible Voyage

Two Survived, by Guy Pearce Jones. New York: Random House. 209 pages. $2.

When the British freighter Anglo-Saxon was attacked by a German raider in August, 1940, the attack was so sudden and vicious that only seven men got clear in the jolly boat, most of them wounded at that. The Germans' idea was complete destruction, to which end they riddled the ship with sheets of pompom fire. As the Britisher still had way on, her small-boat slipped away unobserved and there began a 3,000-mile journey to the Bahamas, the seventy terrible days of which only two seamen survived. Some of them went mad, some gave up and jumped overside, one died of gangrene. The boat had been underprovisioned to start with (the regular lifeboats had been turned to kindling by machine-gun fire), and what with their wounds and the relentless beating of the sun the crew was in no condition to do more than stand watches at the tiller. How the two, Robert Tapscott and Wilbert Widdicombe, lived it out to stagger up the beach at Eleuthera is still a mystery after their story has been pieced together by the author.

The story is brief, weird and exciting. But by some obscene humor of fate, Widdicombe recuperated only to be torpedoed a few months later and never heard from again. We see the happenings in the boat through the eyes of Tapscott, whom the author favors as the stronger stuff of the two, though the only verifiable fact is that when they landed he was the farthest gone. Why Widdicombe was not similarly interviewed and represented we have to guess. We have the spare seamanly entries of the mate's log to go by, but he and the third engineer went over the side about the fifteenth day; his account of the captain's death does not jibe with that in the book; he secured the wheel but left his engines at full speed; he did not enter the word gangrene in the log; and while such primitive surgery in amputation is horrible to think about, he apparently did not think about it until too late and did not think well then.

Widdicombe was "an old Conway" and Tapscott a young veteran in seamanship, yet by the account one got his boatfalls all foul in lowering away and the other cast off the forward falls first in a seaway like any ninny and then let his sea-painter go on the run, and not a man of those who tumbled in during the few seconds of that crazy launching looked for the first thing to look for in a boat: to see if the plug was in. To talk of what should be, in the middle of that blasting attack at night, is ridiculous; yet it is the should-be in the face of the impossible which has kept ships on the water. In the lee of the firing, alongside a ship which *should* have been losing way, this boat cleared in a panic and left men looking helplessly down who later got onto life rafts and were simply blasted off them by the Germans.

Once adrift, the men showed unbelievable fortitude and self-contained good cheer. Terrible things happened, and some noble things, but we cannot be sure of them as facts, as explanation of something which in irrefutable terms of landfall and departure is already beyond comprehension. Mr. Jones rather looks down on Bligh's voyage, in terms of quantity; yet it was Bligh's superb seamanship and command in every detail as set down in the log and cross-checked in investigation which made the thing possible and his story more undeniably true.

OTIS FERGUSON

Best Sellers
PUBLISHED BY
RANDOM HOUSE

➡ FICTION

1. Whistle Stop
BY MARITTA M. WOLFF. Sixth printing. 449 pages, $2.50

2. What Makes Sammy Run?
BY BUDD SCHULBERG. Fifth printing. $2.50

3. Junior Miss
BY SALLY BENSON. 165,000 copies, including Book-of-the-Month Club! $2.00

4. My Dear Bella
BY ARTHUR KOBER. The funniest book of the year . . . illustrated by *Hoff*. Third printing, $2.00

5. THE Hermit Place
BY MARK SCHORER. Critics say it's "brilliant," "hypnotic," "moving." A story of two sisters who loved the same man. $2.50

➡ NON-FICTION

1. The Battle for Asia
BY EDGAR SNOW. An exciting and prophetic book. Events abroad are just catching up with it. 431 pages, $3.75

2. THE BASIC WORKS OF Aristotle
Edited by RICHARD McKEON. 1487 pages, $4.00

3. Two Survived
BY GUY PEARCE JONES. The story of two English seamen — Tapscott and Widdicombe—who survived 70 days in mid-Atlantic in an open boat! $2.00

RANDOM HOUSE, 20 East 57 Street, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Democracy's Job

Democracy's Battle, by Francis Williams. New York: The Viking Press. 324 pages. $2.75.

FRANCIS WILLIAMS was once the financial editor of the somewhat Laborite Daily Herald of London. In this book, he starts with a rather tedious review of the rise of communism, Nazism and fascism but reaches a fine stride when he undertakes to demonstrate that the more these dictatorships perform the less they promise, and that none of the three is the wave of the future.

When Williams dissects British democracy he is at his best, and here he says things which are very important for an understanding of the war and the chances which England has of winning it. Eighty percent of the wealth of England belongs to six percent of the population. Nearly half the national income goes to 10 percent of the people. Thirty-three million Britons were undernourished before the war; a quarter of the children of the islands were inadequately fed. "For every baby that died of pneumonia and bronchitis in a middle-class home, 572 died from the same causes in poor homes." That was Britain in 1939—a democracy, but a democracy ruled in peacetime "by an oligarchy of hereditary aristocrats, landowners, bankers, financiers and industrialists."

These facts, says Mr. Williams, "do not tally with civilization." They show that England must become civilized or succumb to the Nazi barbarian. She is fighting a double battle: against her own past and against a fascist future. Her people cannot be expected to fight unless they *know*—promises are not enough—that life in the next peace will be better than in the last.

We can expect Britain to deliver more goods like this book, for the British realize that unless they get their future straight they will never get to it at all. France fell chiefly because many Frenchmen believed that it was not worth dying for the difference between Daladier, whom they would have if they won, and Laval or Pétain, whom they would have if they lost. The British instinct of survival is stronger than that of the French. But the British will not generate the zest necessary to victory, and the Continent will never throw off the yoke of Hitler, without a definite and passionate certainty that, after the victory, the same kind of men and the same kind of institutions which produced this war will not be allowed to produce another.

The key to democratic success in the present conflict is a faith that democracy is far better than dictatorship. Those who have lived under dictatorships know that democracy is better. But those who live their entire lives in democracies often see the elements of dictatorship inherent in all existing democracies, and the elements of injustice and inequality and discrimination. These must be eliminated or reduced drastically if people are not to say: "We fought the First World War and won, and now where are we?"

After this war, peace must be real and democracy must be real. The two go together. Toward that goal Mr. Williams gropes.

LOUIS FISCHER

Contributors

VIRGINIA HAMILTON lives in Hamden, Connecticut. She has contributed verse to The Atlantic Monthly, Poetry, The Saturday Review of Literature and other publications.

GEROID TANQUARY ROBINSON, former editor of The Freeman, is professor of History at Columbia University. He lived for some years in Russia and is the author of "Rural Russia Under the Old Regime."

EDGAR SNOW, one of the few foreigners who ever penetrated Soviet China and the first journalist to report on his findings there, is the author of "Red Star over China" and "Battle for Asia."

FLIGHT-LIEUTENANT is, as his title suggests, a flight lieutenant in the RAF. The traditions of the service prevent him from using his real name.

SAMUEL GRAFTON, columnist on The New York Post, is the author of "All Out!"

RANDALL JARRELL is an instructor in English at the University of Texas. He contributed to "Five Young American Poets," published by New Directions.

SIDNEY HOOK, a professor of Philosophy at New York University, is the author, among other books, of "Reason, Social Myths and Democracy."

EDGAR JOHNSON is a member of the English department at the College of the City of New York, and the author of "One Mighty Torrent: The Drama of Biography."

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN is the author of "Why We Fought," "Preface to Chaos" and "The Deadly Parallel."

LOUIS FISCHER's latest book is "Men and Politics: An Autobiography," published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

LANGUAGES

speak read SPANISH
QUICKLY, EASILY, CORRECTLY
The Linguaphone Method enables you to speak SPANISH—or any of 29 languages—by LISTENING to voices of native teachers *in your own home.* Amazingly simple, thorough, sound; FREE BOOK.
LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
80 RCA Building New York City

LITERARY HELP

TREATISES, RESEARCH PAPERS, SPEECHES, Special Articles, reviews, promptly prepared to requirements of busy professionals. Our extensive experience available at moderate rates, with assurance of scholarly serviceable results. AUTHORS RESEARCH BUREAU, 516 Fifth Ave., New York.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

YOUR vocation and personality accurately delineated from handwriting. Comprehensive report $5.00; shorter $3.00. Dr. A. Beiss, 1440 Broadway, N. Y. C.

SANDALS

How to Read or Write a Book
Concentrate ● Be Comfortable ● Wear
MONK'S SANDALS

Reproductions of Fifteenth Century mission slippers; hand-made in Mexico, of odorless chrome tanned cow-hide saddle leather, with heel grip and woven top thongs. No stitches, glue or nails. Send size and outline of foot with $1 (plus 10c post.) to 55 E. Wacker Dr. HEMISPHERE TRADING COMM. Chicago, Ill.

Order your books — all books — mailed anywhere in the U. S. A.
POSTAGE FREE
from NEW REPUBLIC BOOKS
40 East 49th St., New York, N. Y.

POSITION WANTED

YOUNG MAN, 19, 2 years college. Will take any type of work but prefers office work of a statistical nature. $18-20. Address: Box 300, The New Republic.

APARTMENT OR COTTAGE

WANTED: 4 or 5 room apartment or cottage; unfurnished; 35-60 miles from New York (not New Jersey). Inexpensive. Willing to take a year's lease. Address: Box 301, The New Republic.

COUNTRY HOUSE FOR RENT

NEW HAMPSHIRE country house; five rooms fully furnished; large brook; bathroom; meadows; woods; $100 year or $15 weekly. P. O. Box 312, Troy, New York.

SUMMER RENTAL

SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON: Cool, 5-room furnished apartment. Wooded estate near clubs. Summer $65. References exchanged. Call Ossining 1977 evenings.

LINGUAPHONE COURSE

WANTED: Used Russian Linguaphone course; good condition. Address Box 302, The New Republic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

A Selected Listing of Summer Places

UNION GROVE, N. Y.

MOUNTAIN LAKE FARMS

400 Acres — 2500 Ft. Elevation

LIVINGSTON MANOR R. R. STATION
Two Large, Beautiful Lakes on Premises

SADDLE HORSES (on premises)
TENNIS COURTS
PING PONG TABLES
HANDBALL
FISHING
HUNTING (we provide the guns)
GRAND MEALS (Not strictly kosher)
SWIMMING
NO SOCIAL STAFF

$20, $22, $24 WEEKLY

Wire or Phone
Livingston Manor . 182-J-2
Write JACK KEISER
UNION GROVE, N. Y.

VALCOUR, N. Y.

VALCOUR LODGE

On Lake Champlain Valcour, N. Y.
7 miles south of Plattsburg
Modernly Equipped Bungalows
ALL SPORTS EXCELLENT FOOD DRESS INFORMAL
Write for Illustrated Folder (B)

PHOENICIA, N. Y.

The Woodlands

THE FOUR-SEASON RESORT

How can one put into a space so limited the incomparable beauty of our setting, our superb food, the raves of our guests when we made our debut over the Decoration Day week-end! You will just have to see for yourselves, and we have nary a qualm in thinking you won't regret it.
Siggie R. Goldner — Phoenicia, N. Y.

VINALHAVEN, MAINE

THE BREAKERS

VINALHAVEN — *MAINE*

An old New England farmhouse on the sea. Lobster, new peas, blueberry pie; a log fire; no radio.

LEA SHORE FARM, Vinalhaven, Maine. On island in beautiful Penobscot Bay. Limited to 12 guests. Excellent home cooking; sea food a specialty; homelike accommodations. Picturesque scenery and seacoast. Rates $15-$18 weekly. **L. E. Summers, Prop.**

NEW MILFORD, CONN.

WESTERN VIEW FARM
Send for Folder
TED OHMER—NEW MILFORD, CONN.

WINGDALE, N. Y.

CAMP UNITY
Wingdale, N. Y.

A JOYFUL JULY

SIDNEY BECHET And His New Orleans Feet Warmers
GALA WEEK-END PROGRAMS
Tops Musical Entertainment
Swimming, Boating, Tennis, Ball Games, Archery, Riding
Life-Saving and Tennis Classes
Rates: $22 weekly—$3.75 per day

CAMP UNITY — WINGDALE, N.Y. Wingdale 2461 — Office: 1 Union Sq., N.Y.C. GR 7-1960

WOODBOURNE, N. Y.

SWIMMING · TENNIS · BICYCLING · HORSEBACK · SOCIAL STAFF

VACATION VARIETIES

Tennis at its best on 4 fast clay courts — a private lake and swimming pool — 2 badminton courts — handball — bicycling — 25 other outdoor and indoor sports, including photo darkroom and instruction. Sparkling entertainment by a brilliant Theatre Group. Dancing. Good food, fine company — modern quarters. *Rates: $25 to $35.*

N. Y. OFFICE: 55 WEST 42nd STREET, Tel. LO 5-5857
Write or phone for illustrated folder

A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS
CHESTER'S Zunberg
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.

Birdland

Central Valley, N. Y.

Formerly Lewisohn's Estate. Open All Year
1 hour from N. Y. 225 acres of fascinating hiking country. Sports: everything—fast tennis courts, handball, bicycling, swimming, golf and horseback. Indoors: ping pong, games, recordings, library, dancing, exceptional company, excellent cuisine, every comfort. Incomparable surroundings.
Tel. Highland Mills 7895 — Hostess: Fannie Goldberg

SHERMAN, CONNECTICUT

200 YEARS OLD

BARLOW FARM in the midst of Magnificent Candlewood Lake and Berkshire Hills provides you friendly home for satisfying vacation. ONLY 65 miles from the city. Swimming, tennis on premises. Free boating. Hot and cold running water and showers. Congenial crowd. Romantic campfires. Russian-American kitchen. $4.00 per day, $22.50 per week. Special family rates.

For Free Booklet and Reservations write to Stanley Lapinsky, Barlow Farm, Sherman, Conn. or call New Milford 756-J-3

EQUINUNK, PA.

LE HAMEAU on-the-Delaware River. Mountains 1200 ft. Unexcelled Fr.-Amer. cuisine. River sports, tennis on premises. Rates $20. Rigaud & Simon, Equinunk, Pa.

CHESTER, VERMONT

BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY, simple living, small group, $16 to $18 per week. For description write to Reland Gray, Ethan Allen Farm, R.F.D. No. 2, Chester, Vt.

WARRENSBURG, N. Y.

GREEN MANSIONS welcomes you to its new theatre, lounge, cocktail bar, sun-decks. Log Cabin Clubhouse, each room with private bath. Private golf course, lake, 13 championship tennis courts, all on premises.

LENA BARISH: SAM GARLEN
Directors
N. Y. C. office: 11 W. 42nd St.
Telephone: BRyant 9-1738

Write for Booklet NR

Green Mansions

In the Adirondacks - WARRENSBURG, N. Y.

HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.

HILLTOP LODGE

ON BEAUTIFUL SYLVAN LAKE
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.
R. R. Station: Pawling, N. Y.
Telephone: Hopewell Junction 2761
● ONLY 65 MILES from N. Y. C.
Every Sport and Recreation.
GOLF FREE ON PREMISES
RATES $24.50 PER WEEK | WEEK ENDS $5.00 DAY
Paul Wolfson and Sol Rothauser, Directors
N. Y. Office: 170 Broadway ● COrt. 7-3958

WOODBOURNE, N. Y.

ALL ABOARD

For our 40 acre private lake where you swim in cool, clear waters, fish for pickerel or just relax in one of our grand canoe boats and drift aimlessly with the breeze.

SOUTH WIND

All Sports — Four fast clay tennis courts.
P. O. Box R-38 — WOODBOURNE, N. Y.

ARMONK, N. Y.

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.

"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"

If you choose your hotel with the same care and taste as you would your home, visit this nearby resort. Exclusive, dignified, luxuriously furnished. All sport facilities. Excellent cuisine. Less than 1 hour from N. Y. C. Open All Year.
Phone: Armonk Village 955

Please mention The New Republic in writing advertisers

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coming in *The New* REPUBLIC

four articles by

MAX LERNER

Contributing Editor to The New Republic, author of "It Is Later Than You Think," "Ideas Are Weapons," etc.

1. Nietzsche Today
2. The New Rulers and the Monopoly State: Reflections on Burnham's "Managerial Revolution"
3. The Mind of Mr. Justice Holmes
4. Roosevelt as Leader

Points of reference for your thinking! To understand the turbulent events which shift and alter with each day's newspaper you need more than the day's news.

The weekly New Republic gives you *information* not available elsewhere. It gives you *standards* by which to judge for yourself the meaning of events.

Do not miss an article in this stimulating series by Max Lerner.

13 weeks' trial subscription $1.00

---------- FOR NEW READERS ONLY ----------

THE NEW REPUBLIC, 40 East 49th Street, New York, N. Y.

For the enclosed ONE DOLLAR (check or money order if possible) please send me The New Republic for the next thirteen weeks.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

7-21-41

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED